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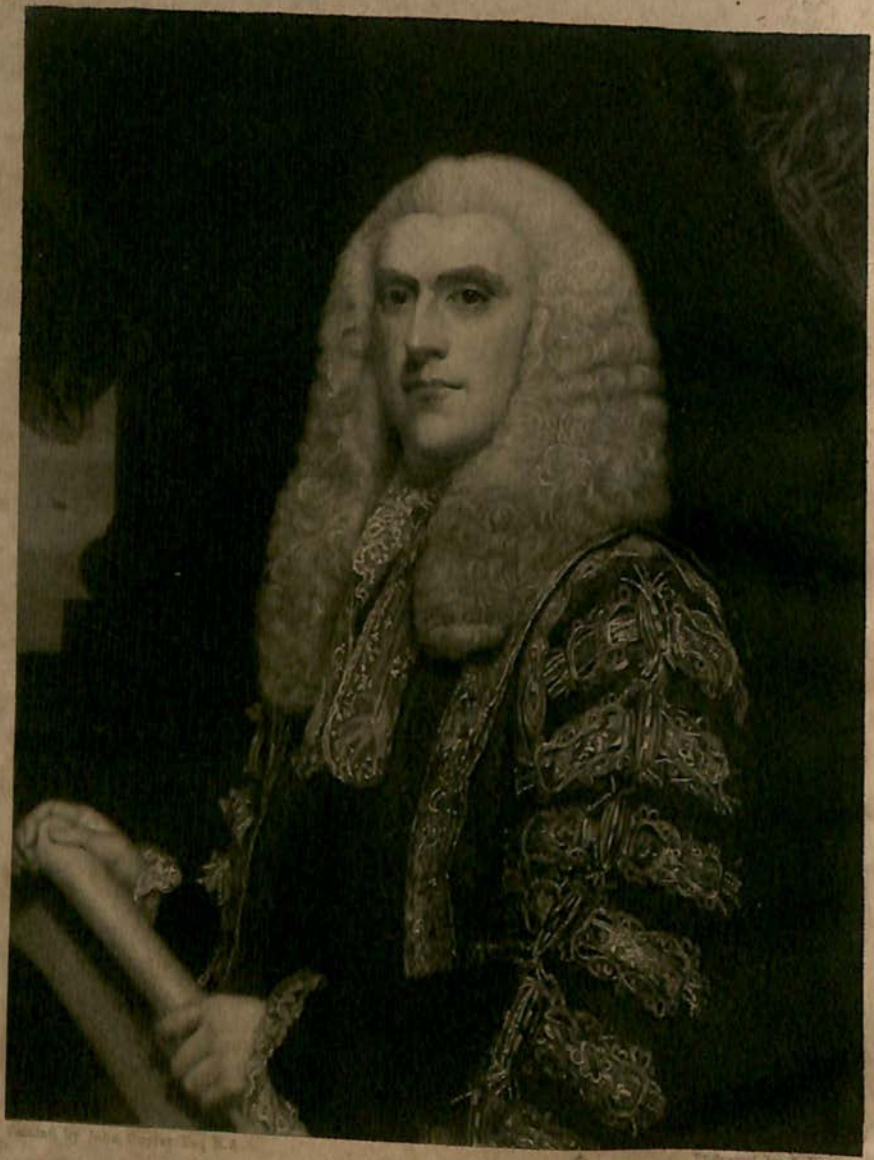

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Henry Addington

THE

LIFE

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

RIGHT HON^BLE HENRY ADDINGTON,

FIRST VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

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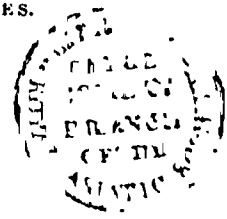
BY

THE HON^BLE GEORGE PELLEW, D.D.

DEAN OF NORWICH.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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PREFACE.

THE late Viscount Sidmouth left a voluminous correspondence, which, by a testamentary paper, he consigned to certain trustees, with permission to make a selection from them for publication. This duty — as one of the parties named by his Lordship — I have attempted to fulfil. The undertaking has been both tedious and laborious; but I have felt it to be one of sacred obligation: for his memory is very dear to me; and no man was ever more ardently or more deservedly beloved by his family and friends.

I have always, too, considered that, however favourably his Lordship's private worth may have been regarded, as a public character he has never yet been adequately appreciated. No statesman, indeed, as far as his personal consideration was concerned, has ever been more unfavourably situated. He was always, as it were, overshadowed by the glory of that great minister, Mr. Pitt, with whose name his own was constantly associated. It was also his misfortune to administer public affairs in times of unexampled difficulty. He had to negotiate a peace with a

successful adventurer, whose ambition was insatiable; and at the same time to satisfy the expectations of his own countrymen, jealous of their honour, and little disposed to submit to the pretensions of any foreign opponent. He had afterwards to prepare his country to meet the threatened invasion of the chief military captain of his age, at the head of a warlike nation, reckless of any sacrifice when indulging their favourite passion for military glory. The peaceable inhabitants of this island, long inured to the habits and enjoyments of domestic security, however animated by feelings of personal courage, and an indomitable spirit of independence, were suddenly to be submitted to the labours and inconvenience of military exercises. To provide the arrangements necessary for this novel situation of the community was a task of no ordinary difficulty: yet, after all the criticisms of his opponents, Mr. Addington's friends might have confidently asked, What more could possibly have been done?

This minister was subjected to another embarrassment, of a most painful nature. Having been selected by his sovereign, with Mr. Pitt's full approbation, to succeed him in office, he had afterwards the misery to find himself alienated from that distinguished statesman, who had been originally his patron and friend, and was still the object of his warmest attachment and respect.

At a subsequent period, when he had ceased to hold the reins of government, he became Secretary of State for the Home Department — a most embarrassing office; for, like the visiter of a college, the Secretary for the Home Department has to correct whatever stands in need of correction. In this situation Lord Sidmouth was called upon to assist the local authorities in the manufacturing districts in keeping in check an overflowing and tumultuous population; and especially to protect the magistrates of Lancashire from the exasperated feelings awakened by the policy which, under the new and appalling circumstances of their situation, they had pursued at Manchester.

The odium of supporting those who, whether justly or unjustly, were stigmatised as having committed a massacre on their fellow-citizens, was to be encountered by Lord Sidmouth, conscious that the magistrates had been influenced by the best intentions, and that if he did not make common cause with them, no one in future would be found hardy enough to do his duty in preserving the peace of the country. His Lordship was firm; but it required no common exercise of moral courage to withstand the storm that raged around him.

Finally, he had to share with his royal master, with the leading authorities of the Reformed Church, and with the great bulk of the more religious members of the Protestant community throughout the king-

dom, the obloquy that was heaped upon them by a portion of his Majesty's subjects, because they thought that the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities involved, not merely considerations of civil polity, but a great religious question of the highest practical importance to the eternal interests of mankind. This, his conscientious conviction, placed his Lordship in opposition to the sentiments of the most numerous and distinguished portion of existing statesmen, who, looking only to political considerations, regarded the subject altogether in a secular light.

Under such circumstances, it can easily be understood how inadequately, throughout his career, Lord Sidmouth's public services were appreciated. The correctness or inaccuracy of this assertion is a question which the reader of the following pages must now determine for himself; and his decision I shall, without apprehension, await.

The pleasing duty now alone remains of gratefully thanking those who have obligingly contributed towards this undertaking. From the relatives and immediate connexions of Lord Sidmouth I have derived the most valuable and friendly co-operation; but as they have not expected, so neither would they accept, any complimentary return for what has truly been to them a work and labour of love. There are also illustrious personages, whose kind and con-

descending interest in whatever related to the deceased, I would, had propriety permitted, on no account have left unnoticed. But there are others to whom I may venture, perhaps, to offer my best acknowledgments. And foremost amongst these I would respectfully mention Lord Sidmouth's oldest surviving friend and colleague, Lord Bexley, to whom I am indebted for much important information, in addition to the financial statements contained in this work.

My warmest thanks are also due to the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, and to the Right Honourable Henry Hobhouse — both personal friends of the deceased statesman; also to the Right Honourable Lord Colchester, for permitting the use of his father's diary; to Sir Henry Russell, Bart., and James Milnes Gaskell, Esq., M.P., for the communication of their MS. notes of anecdotes related to them by Lord Sidmouth; to Colonel Pringle, the representative of Mr. Pitt; to the Duchess of Gordon; the Earl of Ellenborough; the Dowager Countess of Buckinghamshire; the Baroness Bassett; the Honourable Mrs. Yorke; Mrs. Simcoe; Sir Robert H. Inglis, Bart., M.P.; Sir Harris Nicolas, G.C.M.G.; William Pole Carew, Esq., M.P.; George Tierney, Esq.; Alfred Montgomery, Esq.; Bailie Golding, Esq.; the Rev. Henry Huntingford, and the Rev. Nathaniel Bond, — for the use of papers addressed by Lord Sidmouth

to parties of whom they are the representatives; and, finally, to the Duke of Newcastle, and Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington; to the Marquis of Bristol; Lord Kenyon; General Lord Strafford; Lord Brougham; the Right Honourables Sir Robert Peel, Bart., and Sir John Hobhouse, Bart., and Lieutenant-General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart., G.C.B.; for their obliging sanction to the publication of letters addressed by them to Lord Sidmouth.

GEORGE PELLEW.

The Deanery, Norwich,
January 1st, 1847.

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LIFE

OF

LORD SIDMOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

1714—1790.

Addington Family. Dr. Addington. His professional Practice. Acquaintance with the Earl of Chatham. Retirement. Death — Character — Family.

The family of Addington resided for numerous generations on a moderately-sized estate situate at Fringford, in Oxfordshire, which is still in the possession of Viscount Sidmouth. It probably had

removed thither from the neighbouring town of Banbury; for in a document published in Beesley's history of that place, bearing date the 26th of Henry VI., A.D. 1448, and entitled "of licence to found a chantry at Bannebury," the name of Nicholas Addington occurs as one of the trustees. The period of its settlement at Fringford is unknown; but one of the earliest entries contained in the parish register, is that of William Addington who was buried June 9th, 1600. The last mention found of the name is that which records the burial of Dr. Antony Addington, M.D., the respected father of the subject of this biography, who died on the 22d of March, 1790. Amongst various monuments commemorative of this family in Fringford church, is one to the memory of Dr. Addington's parents, — "Henry Addington, gentleman, son of William and Christian Addington, who died March the 5th, 1729, aged 71 years, and Elizabeth, his wife, who died August 17th, 1746." It is further recorded of this respectable couple, that "they were excellent members of society, being sincere Christians," an assertion which is corroborated by the fact, that they managed, out of their limited patrimonial estate, to educate their youngest son as commoner at Winchester School and Trinity College, Oxford, and thus to lay the foundation of his subsequent professional success.

Dr. Addington commenced his practice at Reading, where, on the 22d of September, 1745, he married Mary, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Haviland John Hiley, head master of the Grammar School at that place, and afterwards rector of Newton St. Loo, in the diocese of Bath and Wells. It was at this period of his

life that Dr. Addington attended in his last illness Mr. Blandy, an attorney of Henley-on-Thames, whose death was occasioned by a series of minute doses of arsenic, administered to him by his only daughter, who was tried and convicted for this unusual crime, chiefly upon Dr. Addington's evidence, at the Lent assizes, held at Oxford, in 1752. Two years after this event, in 1754, he removed to London, and settled in Bedford Row, where Henry, his eldest son, and fourth child, was born. From thence he subsequently removed to a house, No. 7., in Clifford Street, where he practised for many years with much ability and success. Such indeed was the reputation to which he finally attained, that on occasion of the King's alarming illness in 1788, although he had long previously retired from general practice, he was called in by the Privy Council to report on his Majesty's case. The most interesting result, however, of his practice, was the introduction which it procured him to the confidence and friendship of Dr. Lowth, the learned and eminent bishop of London, the Duke of Montagu, Earl Rivers, and, above all, of that eminent statesman, the first Earl of Chatham. Sir Walter Scott, in his Diary of May 24th, 1828, has remarked of this intimacy, that it embraced "much of that familiar friendship which arises, and must arise, between an invalid, the head of an invalid family, and their medical adviser, supposing the latter to be a wise and well-bred man." The above opinion was founded on a perusal of the letters in possession of Viscount Sidmouth, which had been addressed by Lord Chatham to Dr. Addington, and which are so characteristic of the former,

and so honourable to the latter, that it is conceived no apology is requisite for the selection of the following extracts from them.

The first, which is remarkable for the interest which Lord Chatham manifests in it for his friend's domestic happiness, as also for his solicitude at the delicate health of his own son, the celebrated William Pitt, then in his twelfth year, is extracted from a letter dated "Burton Pynsent, August 5th, 1771.

"The share I take, together with Lady Chatham, in every event which materially interests the happiness of you and yours, is too sincere to allow me to remain silent with regard to the marriage of Miss Addington.* Accept, dear Sir, the united felicitations of all your friends here on the occasion. * * * We begin now to look out wistfully for you in the west, and hope to have the satisfaction of embracing you here, as you pass, in perfect health, and with all your joy about you. I say nothing more of the health of this place, than that mine is better than it has been this twenty years. I wish I could say of our dear William that he is mended since you saw him. His neck is rather less, but he is wan, and extremely lean — in other respects not ill.

"I am, with truest esteem and consideration, my dear Sir,

"Your faithful and affectionate

"Friend and humble servant,

"CHATHAM."

The next letter, which, with nearly all the others, is given in the fourth volume of the "Correspondence of Lord Chatham," breathes the same feelings of attachment and esteem; and as it contains a sage remark on the influence of paternal example, which

* Eleanor, second daughter of Dr. Addington, married, Aug. 1st, 1771, to James Sutton, Esq., M.P. for Devizes.

attracted the peculiar attention of Sir Walter Scott, a more copious extract is here subjoined:—

Earl of Chatham to Dr. Addington. — (Extract.)

"Burton Pynsent, Nov. 23d, 1771.

* * * * "All your friends here, the flock of your care, are truly sensible of the kind attention of the good shepherd. Our dear William has held out well on the whole; but lately has again had a disturbed night. The blister was applied, and he is, thank God, well at present. We trust that confection and airing in a carriage will keep him so. Pitt" (afterwards the second earl) "lives much abroad. The hounds and the gun are great delights, without prejudice to literary pursuits. I sometimes follow him after a hare, — 'longo sed proximus intervallo.' My last fit of the gout left me, as it had visited me, very kindly. I am many hours every day in the field; and, as I live like a farmer abroad, I return home and eat like one. I rejoice that parliament meets so late, for if I must go thither I shall be reduced

'discedere tristem
Quandocunque trahent invisa negotia Romam.'

* * * "Ale goes on admirably, and agrees perfectly: my reverence for it, too, is increased, having just read, in the manners of our remotest Celtic ancestors, much of its antiquity and invigorating qualities. The boys all long for ale, seeing papa drink it; but we do not try such an experiment. Such is the force of example, that I find I must watch myself in all I do, for fear of misleading. If your friend William saw me smoke, he would certainly call for a pipe."

In addition to the preceding testimonials indicative of private friendship, there are others which show the estimation in which the Doctor was held by his great patron as a politician and a patriot. From a letter written by the Countess of Chatham, and dated Nov. 17th, 1776, it appears that her husband occasion-

ally resorted to Dr. Addington on important political occasions, as a faithful depositary of his opinions.

"My Lord wishes me to transmit to you the enclosed paper, being a memorandum, expressed with due precision and in the exact terms of that declaration concerning America, which, from his confidence in your experienced friendship, he reposed last July in your breast. The times are so critical that he is anxious to have his opinions accurately stated, and should be infinitely obliged if, as often as you shall think proper to communicate the sentiments contained in this memorandum, attention is had that they may go in the very words in which they are expressed in that paper. You will understand yourself to be entire master to make such communication whenever you may judge it proper."

The memorandum alluded to above, after stating that he (Lord Chatham) continued in the same sentiments with regard to America which he had always professed, and which stand so fully explained in the provisional bill offered by him to the House of Lords, Feb. 1st, 1775, proceeds thus: —

"Confiding in the friendship of Dr. Addington, he requested of him to preserve this in memory, that in case he should not recover from his present illness, the Doctor might be enabled to do him justice, by bearing testimony that he persevered *unshaken* in the same opinions."

Dr. Addington was an enthusiastic admirer of his eminent friend, and his reply to this and his other communications faithfully re-echo his sentiments. He did not even dissent from the dismal anticipations contained in the following extract; and herein differed from his son, who towards the close of his life frequently remarked to those around him on the rashness of indulging in such forebodings.

The Earl of Chatham to Dr. Addington.

"Hayes, Sept. 26th, 1777.

"The early efforts of a pen newly restored to activity are certainly no where so due as to him who, under the goodness of the Almighty, I consider as the restorer of the measure of returning health and comfort which I now enjoy. Your judicious sagacity and kind care, my most worthy and constant friend, have, by God's providence, saved me when every one seemed to have lost all hope of me.* Could I be the fortunate instrument of healing the wounds of a distressed country, standing upon the perilous edge of a fatal precipice, I shall have lived not in vain. But, alas! I see no ray of political salvation. 'Fuit Ilium et ingens gloria.' I quit the melancholy theme to tell you I rejoice that your Herculean labours of subduing Devonshire monsters (rogues combined of the plough and of the quill) are happily over, and trust you will have laid in a stock of rural strength to enjoy a good winter after such summer achievements. We shall count the days till we have the pleasure of seeing you again. Our best compliments attend Mrs. Addington, and every warm wish for the health and welfare of you and yours.

"Your truly affectionate

"CHATHAM."

The next communication, dated Hayes, Jan. 14th, 1778, is still more desponding. "Where," he says, "is this ruin to end? Heaven only knows. I hold out without gout hitherto; perhaps I may last as long as Great Britain." Such was almost the latest sentiment expressed by the most popular and successful statesman of the period; and it is well calculated

* These words are a sufficient answer to a flippant passage in Horace Walpole's Memoirs of George III., vol. ii. p. 450., which attributes Lord Chatham's illness, in 1766, to the rash treatment of Dr. Addington. Surely such frivolous charges are entitled to no reply.

to teach us distrust of even the wisest human judgment, and confidence in the elastic and self-adjusting principles of the British constitution. Little did Lord Chatham foresee, whilst deprecating this event as fatal to the prosperity of his country, that, although doubtless accelerated by mismanagement, it was only one of those contingencies which are inseparable from the destinies of a prosperous and colonising nation. Could he have looked forward into futurity, he would have beheld Great Britain, not merely surviving the rough severance of the North American provinces, but speedily pushing forth branches still more powerful, which, spreading into the remotest east and south, have become the prolific germs of mighty nations.

Dr. Addington continued to enjoy the confidential friendship of Lord Chatham until the death of that illustrious statesman; which melancholy event he immediately announced to his eldest son in the following note, dated Clifford Street, May 11th, 1778: —

"You will be grieved to hear that Lord Chatham is no more. It pleased Providence to take him away this morning, as if it were in mercy, that he might not be a spectator of the total ruin of a country which he was not permitted to save."

Not long afterwards, acting upon the principle "oportet aliquod temporis spatium, inter negotia vitæ et vitæ terminum, intercedere," Dr. Addington finally retired from practice, having realised by his profession sufficient for the purchase of the valuable reversionary estate of Upottery, in Devonshire, which is still possessed by his grandson. During his latter years he resided in Reading, where, on the 26th Nov·

1788, he received his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's commands "to proceed immediately to Windsor to consult with his Majesty's physicians on the case of his Majesty." His reply to this summons is preserved, and on the back of it appears the following note in his own handwriting:—"Dr. A. saw his Majesty on Thursday morning, Nov. 27th, and again in the afternoon; twice on Friday, 28th; twice on Saturday, 29th; and twice on Sunday, 30th."

On the 8th June in the following year (1789) Dr. Addington had the gratification to see his eldest son, whose elevation to some high official station he had long predicted, elected by a large majority to the dignity of the first commoner in the land. Shortly after this event he closed in peace and hope his honourable career, and was buried beside the remains of his wife in Fringford church, where a marble tablet with the following simple inscription denotes the place of his repose:—

"Near this place are interred the remains of Antony Addington, M.D., who died March 22d, 1790, aged 76 years, and of Mary, his wife, who died November the 7th, 1778.

"To their honoured memory this monument is erected as a tribute of filial affection."

This brief notice has been considered due to one who, not only by his talents and diligence, without the benefit of connexion, raised himself to the highest rank of a most learned profession, but also by his paternal solicitude and advice, laid the foundation of the eminence to which his son eventually attained. The remaining particulars of his life are intermixed with those of his family, and will be more appro-

priately given when the latter are related. Dr. Addington had two sons and four daughters, —

1. Anne, born, 1747; married, 1769, William Goodenough, M.D., brother of the Bishop of Carlisle: she died in 1806, leaving no issue.

2. Eleanor, born, 1749; married, 1771, James Sutton, Esq., M.P., of New Park, Devizes: she died, 1837, leaving two daughters.

3. Elizabeth, born, 1754; married, 1782, William Hoskins, Esq., of North Perrot, Somerset: she died, 1827, leaving issue.

4. Henry, first Viscount Sidmouth, born, 1757; married, in 1781, Ursula Mary, daughter and coheiress of Leonard Hammond, Esq., of Cheam, Surrey, who died, 1811,—and, secondly, Mary Anne, daughter of William, Lord Stowell, and widow of Thomas Townsend, Esq., who died, 1842: his Lordship died Feb. 15th, 1844, leaving a son and four daughters.

5. John Hiley, born, 1759; married, 1785, Mary, daughter and heiress of Henry Unwin, Esq.: he was member of parliament for Harwich, secretary of the Treasury in 1801, and subsequently paymaster of the forces, and under-secretary of state: he died in 1818, leaving two sons and a daughter.

6. Charlotte, born, 1761; married, 1789, Charles Bragge, Esq., barrister-at-law, afterwards the Right Hon. Charles Bathurst, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and member of parliament for Bristol, &c.: he died in 1831; she died in 1839.

CHAPTER II.

1757—1781.

Birth of Henry, first Viscount Sidmouth. Placed at Cheam School, under the Rev. Mr. Gilpin. Entered at Winchester College. Mrs. Addington's Letters to her Sons. Dr. Warton. Rev. G. J. Huntingford. Early Designation of Henry Addington for Profession of the Law. Placed under the Tuition of Rev. Dr. Goodenough. Entered at Brasenose College. Letters to his Father from Oxford. Defects of System of College Education. Letters from Mr. Pole Carew and Mr. Huntingford. Death of Mrs. Addington. Letter from the Duke of Montagu to Dr. Addington on that Event. Henry Addington obtains the Prize for English Essay at Oxford. His Introduction to Lord Mornington. He enters on Residence at Lincoln's Inn. His Marriage. His early Intimacy with Mr. Pitt. Its Influence on his Views. Letter from Mr. Addington to Mr. Pole Carew. Dissolution of Parliament, and Election of Mr. Addington as M.P. for the Borough of Devizes. Dr. Warton's Letter thereon.

HENRY, eldest son and fourth child of Dr. Addington, and of Mary his wife, was born on the 30th day of May, 1757, in Bedford Row, in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and was baptized in the church of that parish on the 30th June, in the same year.

In June, 1762, at the very early age of five years, he was placed under the care of the Rev. William Gilpin, author of Essays on Picturesque Beauty, four volumes of Sermons, an Exposition of the New Testament, and other useful works, and who then,

and for many years afterwards, kept a school at Cheam, in Surrey. The letter in which Mr. Gilpin acknowledged the receipt of his little charge is deemed worthy of preservation, both as a specimen of the writer's quaint style and turn of thought, and a record of the care which Dr. Addington, notwithstanding his avocations, had bestowed on the early instruction of his promising son.

The Rev. Wm. Gilpin to Dr. Addington.

"Sir, "Cheam, July 15th, 1762.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that your little gentleman is extremely well, in all appearance a very happy member of our community. * * * * He is indeed an engaging, sweet boy, obliging to every body, and tractable in the highest degree. After this you will perhaps be surprised if I tell you that I shall get no credit, at least for some time, by having him under my tuition. Without any compliment, you have brought him up thus far with so much exactness, that it will not be in my power to go on as you have begun. I fear he will not always hear human learning treated with that respect in the play-ground, which he hath been taught to pay it. * * * A friend of mine lately, leaving his son with me, told me he had in that instance entirely consulted my credit, for, said he, I have made it my study to indulge my son in every thing. I will not believe, sir, you have had a premeditated scheme of an opposite kind against me; but I fear the effect.

"I am, Sir, &c. &c.,

"WILLIAM GILPIN."

Mr. Gilpin in his next letter, dated Dec. 13th, 1762, describes his hopeful pupil in the same favourable terms:—"I hope," he says, "you will receive with this your young gentleman, who hath served

his first campaign with wonderful credit." Two years afterwards (Dec. 12th, 1764), the worthy master reiterates the above favourable reports; and at the same time intimates that his early forebodings that the "conversation of the play-yard would lessen his pupil's veneration for his book," had not remained wholly unfulfilled. "Harry," he says, "is a genius; and I may add, he takes the licence of a genius—he trusts more to his parts than his industry. He is certainly an idle boy; and yet he generally has his lesson as well as any, often the best, of his class, though he is raised amongst boys who are his seniors much in point of years; and what is very surprising, he is exceedingly retentive of what he appears to get merely by intuition."

In the twelfth year of his age, Henry Addington was removed from the observing eye of this able and friendly preceptor, for whom, through life, he entertained a grateful attachment, to serve his first campaign as a commoner in the wider sphere of Winchester.

It appears that Henry was accompanied to Winchester, or else closely followed, by his brother Hiley, since the first letter from their mother, from which an extract is subjoined as illustrative of her piety and good sense, was addressed to them conjointly:—

"Sept. 1st.

"I am very glad to find that my dear boys are so sensible of the happiness of their new situation. * * * I am persuaded very few boys have such advantages. To me it is an exceeding great comfort that they are out of the way of all temptation from the follies and vices of the age. You, my dear Harry, are to lead the way, and I hope your brother will follow your example. * * * Oh, what

misery, what stings of conscience would you be liable to, when embarked on the wide world, were *you* to stray from the right path, and were *he* weak enough to copy you. I say not this from any present apprehensions, but I tremble when I reflect how many young men, with the best dispositions, are undone, either by false friends, or to avoid the ridicule of the world, and slide insensibly from virtue into the vice that does most easily beset them."

This excellent advice we may infer was not given in vain, for, nearly two years afterwards, we find this anxious mother addressing her eldest son in a tone of increased confidence:—

"March 15th, 1770.

"I heard, when I was at Bath, of some disturbance that has happened at school; but though I knew nothing of the particulars, I was very easy about it, having too much confidence in your goodness of heart and right way of thinking, to suppose you could be concerned in it. Hiley, I knew, would follow your example."

At that period the celebrated Dr. Joseph Warton was head master of Winchester school, and George Isaac Huntingford—a man greatly distinguished in after-life as a divine and a scholar—held an assistant mastership. Henry Addington, from his tender age, necessarily fell under the tuition of the latter; and a friendship almost immediately sprang up between them, most unusual in parties occupying their relative positions, and at the same time highly honourable to them both: it continued uninterrupted until the death of Huntingford, (then, by his own merits, aided by the patronage of his friend, Bishop of Hereford and warden of Winchester,) on the 29th of April,

1832. Huntingford's correspondence during that whole period of sixty-four years breathes a spirit of devoted attachment almost surpassing that of a parent. It soared, indeed, far above the common flight of human friendships, regarding the personal gratification or worldly success of its object as nothing compared with the elevation of his moral character, and his advancement in truth, fortitude, self-control, and all those manly and Christian virtues which merit, if they cannot always command success. The advice of such a man was of incalculable value to his youthful friend, its sole object being to instil into his mind noble and generous principles. The Christian and patriot are visible in every sentiment.

Henry Addington's early selection of a profession is shown by his paper of admission into the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, which bears date Jan. 7th, 1771. He passed through the school with reputation, retaining, it need not be said, the vivid attachment of his adult friend, who regarded him as "his very child;" and enjoying the approbation of Dr. Warton for his scholarship and conduct; and that also of his school-fellows, for his spirit, manliness, sincerity, and good temper. His principal school associates were Charles Bragge, who subsequently married his sister; Reginald Pole Carew, who became a privy counsellor; Nathaniel Bond, afterwards a member of his government; Busby, who was his chaplain, and then dean of Rochester; Blackburne, subsequently warden of Manchester; and Lowth, son of the celebrated bishop of that name. To the above list was added, immediately on his going to Oxford, Mr., afterwards Sir Benjamin,

Hobhouse, between whom and Addington a friendship then commenced which endured without interruption or diminution until the death of Sir Benjamin, in 1831, to the deep regret of his old companion, who both esteemed him for his talents and loved him for his virtues.

That these early intimacies were well founded, is evident from the fact, that in every instance they endured for life.

In May, 1773, for reasons which do not appear, he and his brother were removed from Winchester, at an earlier period than Huntingford thought advisable, and were placed under the tuition of Dr. Goodenough, afterwards dean of Rochester and bishop of Carlisle, who at that time took private pupils at Ealing. Huntingford had long looked forward to this separation almost with dismay.

"I am pleased," he wrote in 1772, "when you treat me rather as your friend than tutor, without formality, without restraint. For my own part, to you I lay open my whole heart without reserve: to you I divest myself of the little superiority which age may have given me: with you I can enter into conversation with all the familiarity of an intimate companion. The few hours of intercourse which we thus enjoy with each other give more relief to my wearied body and mind than any other amusement on earth. What I am to do when you leave school (a melancholy thought) I cannot foresee. May the evil hour be postponed as late as possible! Yet let me add, whenever it shall be most for your advantage to leave me, I will not doubt to sacrifice my own peace and comfort for your interest. I love myself, but you better."

Similar sentiments pervade the numerous letters which this amiable man addressed to Addington, at

Ealing, and afterwards at Oxford and elsewhere; and it will readily be imagined how efficacious they must have proved in forming the character of the future statesman, and erecting Spartan and Roman virtues upon the noble foundation of Christianity.

A vista of above 40 years, passed, at a most eventful era, amidst the storms of political life, prohibits further delay at this stage of our progress, and compels an immediate adjournment to Brasennose college, Oxford, where Henry Addington entered as a commoner on the 15th January, 1774, and commenced his residence in the October following. He went to college a well-read scholar. Four years at Winchester under such first-rate men as Warton and Huntingford had produced their fruits, and the year passed at Dr. Goodenough's had also been well employed. In the letters which, during this latter period, he addressed to his father, who urged forward with laudable zeal the classical pursuits of his sons, he stated that "since he last saw him, he had read the Electra of Sophocles, and Horace de Arte Poetica, and was commencing the epistles of the New Testament, and that he had nearly finished Terence for his afternoon reading, after which he should go to Horace's Satires and Epistles." He added, "that he had begun decimals, and would be ready for Demosthenes in about ten days, if his father would be so good as to send him one."

"I have finished," he proceeds, "the Electra of Sophocles, and have read two acts of that of Euripides: I believe I need not say which is the chief object of my admiration — I had almost said veneration. The former, in my opinion, has all the tenderness and pity of the latter, blended with an almost inconceivable fire and sublimity. I was never before so delighted with any author, not excepting my favourite

Homer, though it must be confessed Homer is at the head of that species of poetry in which he writes; yet I do not think epic poetry either so entertaining or so instructive as tragedy, because it does not so powerfully engage the attention, or affect the passions. Euripides is rather too sentimental for my appetite."

This criticism, though it would probably have been somewhat modified by his riper judgment, and the literary ardour generally manifested in these letters to his father*, would have been thought remarkable in a youth of sixteen, even by the present generation, and prove that however destitute the universities may have been in those days of adequate incentives to exertion amongst their junior members, this was by no means the case with regard either to public schools or private tuition, both of which systems appear to have been in advance of their alma mater in this respect.

Dr. Addington was probably influenced in his selection of Brasennose by its high reputation; and in a letter to his son written on the 6th October, 1774, he expressed his gratification at having heard that his "intended tutor, Mr. Radcliffe, was the worthiest of men as a scholar, a tutor, and a Christian, and that he and Mr. Cleaver were the support of their college:"—"you will think yourself happy," he added, "in being under his care." Bragge also, in a letter to his friend, bears the same testimony. "Brasennose, is, I believe, in a good deal of repute. I dare say you will like it, since you intend to apply, and

*. It is interesting to find this encouraging parent replying to his son, April 12th, 1774: "I devote my leisure time to the Epistles that I may, if I can, be a match for you at Whitsuntide."

will not therefore mind a little restraint." The above favourable character of Mr. Radcliffe was not undeserved. Addington in his first letter from Oxford, dated October 21st, after stating that he had slept in his new rooms on the previous night, informed his father that "Mr. R. took him to himself to lecture for an hour every day; that they had just finished Epictetus, and were to begin something of Plato" on the following day. In Dr. A.'s reply, we find the earliest mention of that acquaintance with Mr. Pitt, which afterwards increased to so great intimacy.

"Yesterday our friend, Mr. William Pitt, came to town, and he did me the pleasure to spend the evening here, and drank your health. In the course of our conversation, we came to Alfred.* He was much pleased with your plan and execution, so far as I could describe them. As he wished to read the copy, I ventured to promise he should. * * * * I find your tutor's heart is set on teaching you Euclid's Elements. But he wishes you first to finish Tully's Offices: and so do I. * * * The way to the sciences is, to begin with the simplest, and when we understand that, to proceed step by step to the more complex. * * * You will consider whether it may not be best for you to deny yourself the pleasure of attending Dr. Hornby's lectures on experimental philosophy until you have gone carefully through the preliminary studies. * * * But what is a youth with an inquisitive and active mind to do in the mean while? Is he to read nothing but Tully? I think you may profitably employ your evening hours in reading Herodotus, Aristotle's Rhetoric, or Locke on the Human Understanding. The latter will finish you as a logician, and is a good introduction to mathematics."

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* A Latin poem on that subject, recently composed by H. Addington.

In his next letter, the freshman informed his father, that "business was going on very briskly; that he was pretty deeply advanced in Aldrich; and that every one allowed that Brasennose was the only college for study."

These details have been given, to show what was the course of instruction at that time pursued at Oxford; which, as far as related to Brasennose, does not appear to have differed materially from that which is still practised in the university. The great defects of the system were the culpable laxity of the public examinations for degrees, and the almost total absence of that grand stimulant to exertion — academical distinction. Young Addington informed his father in one of his earliest letters, that he "was under no anxiety on account of the disputations, as he was credibly informed, they were mere farces;" and the same expression was applied to them four years before by Lord Eldon. "An examination for a degree at Oxford, he used to say, was a farce in my time." (Life, vol. i. p. 57.) When "knowledge" and distinction "at one inlet were thus shut out," the attainment of the chancellor's prizes for Latin and English compositions, which were first given by the Earl of Litchfield in 1768, and have been continued by all succeeding chancellors, constituted almost the only path to fame which was open to the aspiring student. John Scott (Lord Eldon), Addington, Lord Grenville, Lord Wellesley, the two Abbots (Lords Tenterden and Colchester), and Mr. Canning, all trod this road in succession.

Addington used in after-life to relate to his friends the circumstances of one of his early and

fruitless attempts in 1777: he had composed a copy of Latin verses, which Lowth and other too partial friends pronounced certain to gain the prize. This prophecy was doomed to disappointment: so far, however, from acquiescing in the decision of the judges, these mortified prophets, as is usually the case, only persisted more firmly in their judgment, and in this frame of mind repaired to the theatre on the day of recitation; but when this group of not very friendly critics heard the successful candidate Mr. C. Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester, recite his Latin poem on Peter the Great, they all, with one voice, acknowledged its superiority. It was at this period that a friendship arose between Addington and the celebrated William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, which continued to their mutual satisfaction until the death of the latter in 1837. The acquaintance commenced in the Oxford stage coach, in 1777, when one was an under graduate at Brasennose, the other fellow and tutor of the university. They stopped to dine at Maidenhead Bridge, on pork chops, and drank a bottle of port; after which, they chatted very familiarly for the rest of the way, Addington commenting with great freedom on the demerits of college fellows, whilst his companion insidiously encouraged him. When at length the coach stopped at University College, Scott, standing on the step as he alighted, said, "Well, young gentleman, I have had a very pleasant journey; but the next time you feel inclined to abuse college fellows, consider that you may possibly have a poor college fellow in the coach with you. Good evening." The next day the college fellow called upon the under graduate.

During this part of his university life, Addington received a letter from Huntingford, which proved, that whether in presence or absence, the thoughts of that attached friend were ever fixed upon him.

"Accept, my dearest Harry," he observed, "my thanks, my gratitude, my obligations to you, for the continuance of your friendship, still unabated, still sincere and affectionate as before. As I never was so thoroughly attached to any one, I never felt so much for the absence of any one as of yourself. You really have given a new turn to my mind. No pleasure ever yet so affected me as this does. That I should find the same sensibility, the same ingenuous manners, the same nobleness of thought, the same engaging behaviour — all this overcomes and transports me. How to treat you kindly and friendly enough I know not. * * Almost nine years have elapsed since I came here as an assistant, yet in all that time I never have nor shall find a pupil so thoroughly deserving of the warmest esteem and friendship as yourself."

There is nothing further to be recorded of Addington as an under graduate. He took the degree of B.A., February 26th, 1778, but remained at Oxford some months longer, closely attending to algebra, fluxions, &c., not greatly to the satisfaction of the classic-loving Huntingford, who "took leave to say to him that he would learn more virtue and sense from one book of Xenophon than from either Euclid, Wallis, or Aldrich," and who implored him, "in the midst of Rymer's Fœdera and Coke upon Littleton, to think now and then of his old Greek acquaintance, who would smooth the rugged path by which he must ascend to the woolsack."

In the autumn of this year, 1778, Addington had the misfortune to lose his pious and sensible mother. The symptoms of her disorder were announced by the

Doctor to his son in the following note, dated "Clifford Street, October 6th:"—

"This is the thirteenth day of the eruption, which continues very bold, and is almost universal. I own I have great hopes, but your mother herself seems to despair. She burst into tears on Sunday, and said she should never see her children again in this world, but hoped she should in another."

Alas! this exemplary woman was not mistaken: she heard a voice, and saw a hand, which, accustomed as he was to the signs of death, her husband did not discern; she survived long enough to see her children collected around her, and then breathed her last, on the seventh of November, 1778. On this distressing occasion, the Doctor received the following letter from his friend and recent fellow-mourner, the Duke of Montagu:—

"Nov. 9th, 1778.

"My dear Friend and Fellow-sufferer,

"I can, from fatal experience, but too well conceive your sufferings. I sympathise with you, and pity you from the bottom of my heart. God grant you comfort: you are too good a man to despair of it. Let me entreat you to be careful of your health, for the sake of your family and friends, and for the benefit of the community, of which you are so useful and respected a member.

"Your assured friend and much obliged servant,

"MONTAGU."

In his reply, the Doctor gratefully "thanks his Grace for his kind, tender, and sympathising letter," and adds that he "will endeavour to follow his Grace's wise advice and example, and submit with patience to *His* will who is the author of life and death, and the disposer of all events."

In February, 1779, we find Addington again resident at Brasennose, and studying algebra for an hour every evening with Mr. Williamson. This pursuit, however, did not occupy his whole attention at this period, for shortly afterwards the prize given by the chancellor of the university to bachelors whose standing did not exceed seven years was adjudged to him for the best English essay on "the affinity between painting and writing in point of composition," which he recited in the usual manner at the commemoration of 1779.

It was at the recital of his essay in the theatre, that Addington first became acquainted with Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquess Wellesley, who attended indeed on that occasion only in the secondary capacity of prompter to his friend Lord Grenville, when reciting his poem on "Vis electrica," but in the following year appeared himself in the rostrum as the successful competitor for the same honourable distinction.

The intimacy thus happily commenced between two men destined subsequently to fill such eminent stations in their country's service continued unabated until the death of Lord Wellesley in 1842, a period of sixty-two years; and on several occasions in after-life Addington's steady counsels were instrumental in reconciling the lofty genius and sensitive feelings of his friend, to circumstances at the moment not a little intolerable to them.

Having thus successfully terminated his academical career, Addington appears to have seriously adopted the law as a profession. He occupied chambers in Paper Buildings, kept his terms regularly at Lin-

coln's Inn, and doubtless was not unmindful of the following caution of his ever-anxious friend:—"When you reside in London as a student, you will do very wrong not to dedicate one day in the week to the sole service of religion. This practice will be a powerful preservative to you from the unmanly debaucheries with which the thoughtless multitude is deluded."

From the brief records which remain of the year 1780, it appears that Addington's health was then very indifferent, which occasioned his passing a portion of the summer at Great Malvern, and the remainder of it at New Park, with his brother-in-law Mr. Sutton. There, by his pleasing manners, he speedily acquired the confidence of the inhabitants of the neighbouring borough of Devizes, who were so satisfied with his principles, talents, and amiable manners, that, four years afterwards, on the recommendation of Mr. Sutton, they unanimously elected him their representative in Parliament — an honour which he retained without opposition during the whole period of his services in the lower house of parliament. In 1781, we find him returned to his legal pursuits in Paper Buildings. Again, however, his studies were destined to be interrupted, but in a far happier manner; for in the summer of this year a devoted attachment arose between him and Ursula Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Leonard Hammond, Esq., of Cheam, in Surrey, which, meeting with the fullest approval of the relations of both parties, terminated in their union on the 19th day of September, 1781. Dr. Addington's reply to his son's announcement of his attachment is characteristic.

"I had the pleasure of your romantic letter. If there be any fault in it, it is of the hyperbolic kind. I know love is a passion, but it is not idolatry. Pure love may border on enthusiasm, but when it once grows unruly, it is hardly ever permanent and happy. I have no doubt but the violence of your fever will gradually subside, and that you will conduct yourself in all its paroxysms with that manly prudence which has adorned every other situation of your life." * * *

The letters of Huntingford on this occasion display his accustomed interest in his friend's happiness and improvement. After offering his congratulations to "the first and best and most valued of all his pupils," he proceeds thus: —

"I know but two maxims for the matrimonial life: one is, not to think all must be happiness complete, unmixt with anxieties; the other is, for both to preserve mutual compliance, and to give and take. Matrimony, if it heightens the joys, embitters the sorrows of life. Mutual condescension and deference to each other's opinion prevents a multitude of unnecessary, and sometimes unguarded, words: and believe me, excepting one's character, and the character of those we love, there is not a thing in life worth disputing about. * * As the master of a family, you can now set a shining example of every domestic virtue to all around you. * * * Were I master of a house, I should make it my custom never to meet my family in the morning, nor to part from them at night, without praying to Heaven for the blessing of my Creator on me and mine, convinced as I am of the infinite utility of family prayer. In those who have been well educated, it preserves a due sense of reliance on God, which alone can give dignity to our sentiments, and rectitude in our actions. To those who are in lower capacities, prayers are as lessons; they teach the grand points of morality and truth, and unite the several branches of a house into a more perfect harmony and benevolence."

The writer then alludes to a somewhat ludicrous occurrence. Before he became acquainted with his

friend's matrimonial engagement, he had sent him three Greek odes intended for publication, with a request that he "would criticise them with an eye that would overlook and spare no fault." It will readily be imagined that in Addington's situation at that moment his love of criticism had given place to softer emotions, and that the unfortunate poems remained unread and forgotten. The poet, therefore, concludes his letter with the following humble request:—"Whenever you are quite at leisure, I should be obliged to you for the three copies of Greek verses which were sent you in the spring."

The newly married pair established themselves in Southampton Street, Bloomsbury, where Addington "determined to prosecute the profession of the law." Events, however, were now approaching which shortly put an end to any such intention. On the 26th of February, 1781, the celebrated William Pitt, then only in his twenty-second year, made his first speech in the House of Commons, in support of Mr. Burke's bill for "the better regulation of the civil list establishments, the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of sundry useless and expensive places." The letter in which Dr. Goodenough describes this event to Mr. Wilson, Pitt's early tutor, by whom it was communicated to Dr. Addington, having been found amongst the papers, is here subjoined.

"Dear Sir, London, 27th Feb. 1781.

"I cannot resist the natural impulse of giving pleasure, by telling you that the famous William Pitt, who made so capital a figure in the last reign, is happily restored to this country. He made his first public re-appearance in the senate last night. All the old members recognised him

instantly, and most of the young ones said he appeared the very man they had so often heard described. The language, the manner, the gesture, the action were the same; and there wanted only a few wrinkles in the face, and some marks of age, to identify the absolute person of the late Earl of Chatham.

"I am, &c. &c.,

"G. T. GOODENOUGH."

Although, as Mr. Pitt told Mr. Wilberforce in 1805*, he and Addington "had been friends from their childhood, and their fathers before them," unfortunately very few particulars relating to their first acquaintance have been preserved. Both Addington, however, and his sister Charlotte, afterwards Mrs. Bathurst, used to describe their having on one occasion been taken by their father to Hayes, to see Lord Chatham's children enact a play written by themselves. They well remembered the interest with which the venerable statesman witnessed the representation; and the preference he expressed to Lord Lyttelton, who also was present on the occasion, for his eldest son's acting over that of William,—and in truth, as they both observed, the latter was then an awkward youth, and acquitted himself with remarkable stiffness. This was, probably, the same visit to which Huntingford alludes in the following extract from a letter dated June 28th, 1772:—"It would have given me great pleasure to have accompanied you to Hayes. The sight of a man whose mind is big with the most enlarged ideas, and whose thoughts are so much bent on public weal, would strike me almost to a degree of adoration."

* Life, vol. iii. p. 211.

It would have been interesting to have discovered more particulars respecting the morning of an intimacy of which the meridian was so bright, and the setting unhappily so cheerless. No further information, however, on the subject is to be gleaned from Addington's earlier correspondence; nor is it surprising if little communication should have passed between youths, however intimate their parents might have been, whose educations were neither commenced at the same school, nor completed at the same university. Now, at length, their mutual resort to the common arena of London as candidates, Pitt for parliamentary, Addington for legal distinction, afforded opportunities of intercourse, which they readily embraced: the biographer, therefore, of the latter must regard the year 1781 as the real date of that friendship which gave a distinctive colouring to his whole future life. Addington at that time possessed a larger acquaintance, and had seen two years more of life, than his friend. His education at a public school had given him confidence and decision; and though of a high spirit and sanguine temperament, he yet was early remarkable for the soundness of his judgment. These qualities must have recommended him to the *minister*, whilst higher qualities endeared him to the *man;* and hence that entire confidence which Pitt reposed in him for so large a portion of his life. A considerable number of Pitt's letters to his friend have been preserved; but as they consist chiefly of that laconic, and often, through lapse of time, obscure species of communication, which passes between those who live in habits of frequent personal intercourse, in most instances brief and occasional extracts only can

be presented to the public. The earliest letter in the series is of this description. It is dated Friday, Dec. 26th, 1782, and simply appoints a meeting at Pitt's residence, in Berkeley Square, on the following Sunday.

At this time Addington was still residing in the most retired manner in Southampton Street, where, in the beloved society of his wife and a few attached friends, he enjoyed a state of domestic happiness and tranquillity, which, however desirable in itself, contributes, it must be admitted, but few materials suited to the purposes of biography. Meanwhile, to Huntingford's question "How does the law go on with you—aspera num sileant inter connubia jura?"—the same answer as formerly could not be returned; for in 1783 he no longer pursued the study of the law as a profession. His increasing intimacy with Pitt, who had reached at once the zenith of reputation, and was then, as chancellor of the exchequer, at twenty-three, an object of pride and admiration to his countrymen, was already influencing his mind, and pointing it in a political direction. The first intimation of this change in his views is found in a letter dated April 10th, 1783, from his friend Bragge:—"When I left town," he says, "I thought the first post would bring me an account of your being called to the service of your country in some honourable station, under the auspices of your illustrious friend; instead of which, after a long expectation, comes a gazette blackened with the appointment of this offensive coalition. Surely it is impossible they can long hold together." *

* This alludes to the celebrated junction between the parties of

These last words were prophetic. In the following December the great confederacy of Mr. Fox and Lord North was dismissed from office, and Addington's "illustrious" friend, still not twenty-five, was restored to the councils of his sovereign in the yet higher capacity of prime minister. As early as the 28th of the same month an interview took place between Pitt and Addington, the object of which is clearly shown in the following extract from a letter of Bragge, bearing date Dec. 30th:—"I give you joy of the effects of the interview of last Sunday, of which I am impatient to hear the particulars. Secretary, either official or confidential, I should wish you; and indeed all the boards are already filled."

No immediate appointment resulted from this interview; nevertheless, early in 1784, Addington's increasing intimacy with the minister had become so apparent, that his correspondents are found alluding to it in almost every letter. Pitt was at that time engaged in a desperate contest, against a majority of the House of Commons, obtained by an unnatural coalition, which, in the endeavour to perpetuate its own power, bade defiance at once to the prerogative of the crown, the solemn decision of the House of Peers, and the unequivocal verdict of the public. Whilst he thus contended in the House almost single-handed, in defence of his king and country, patriot-

Mr. Fox and Lord North. On the day it was declared, Mr. Burke and Colonel North entered the House of Commons together, just as the Speaker was beginning to count the House, and as he pointed to them, and in the customary manner called out one, two, Mr. Burke interrupted him with—"Pardon me, Sir; we were two yesterday, but are only one to-day."

ism with the great mass of politicians had well nigh vanished before the evil spirit of party. "Would to God," said Huntingford, "unanimity could pervade this unhappy country! Pompey had his friends, and Cæsar had his friends; but the commonwealth had no friends. This was said almost two thousand years ago, and I fear may be said again."

It appears by the following passage in a letter from Dr. Addington to his son, that the latter about this time had received an overture respecting some borough, which he had declined. "Whoever the gentleman was who made you that unexpected offer, you judged right, in my opinion, to decline it. I believe you are an enemy to corruption in all shapes, and as such have good reason to depend on an unbought seat in parliament in case of a dissolution."

The above circumstance is alluded to, and the political agitation of the period forcibly shown in the following extract of a letter, dated January 29th, 1784, from Addington to his friend Pole Carew, who at this juncture had been induced by deference to family connexion to take part with the Coalition:—

"Every thing seems 'in pejus ruere.' I rejoice most heartily to think that you have not been in any respect accessary to our present embarrassments. Could you with propriety have put yourself forward amongst those who have endeavoured to prevent them, I am persuaded you would not have absented yourself at such a time. I think it will give you some pleasure to hear that if a dissolution had taken place, I had a flattering prospect of succeeding at ———. That event is deferred, but I trust on all accounts to no very remote period; for surely if ever an appeal to the people seemed a necessary measure it is now, though the impediments thrown in the way of it by some late resolutions of the

House have for a time rendered it impracticable. The language of the minister yesterday was more confident than it has been at all; — that of Fox, &c. much less so. Monday must be a very important day: would to God it were possible for you to hear the arguments of all, and give your support according to the conviction of your own mind! I should then, I think, have the pride and happiness of seeing two of the men whom I value most upon earth engaged in the same honourable cause — that of the King and the country, in opposition to a confederacy which, in my opinion, threatens danger to both. Adieu! I have been carried much further than I intended; but you must pardon me.

> 'Calm is my soul, nor apt to rise in arms,
> Except when fast-approaching danger warms.'

Look into Goldsmith's Traveller, and the lines subsequent to those I have quoted will, I think, strike you forcibly.

"Affectionately yours,
"H. A."

The time had now arrived when the youthful minister was to gather the fruits of his wisdom and perseverance. By his calmness and self-command, no less than by the soundness of his arguments, the force of his eloquence, and the goodness of his cause, he had foiled a formidable host of opponents, under the ablest and most experienced leaders. Si nullâ aliâ re," he replied, in the words of Scipio to Fabius (Livy, lib. xxviii.), to General Conway, who alluded disparagingly to his youth, "modestiâ certe, et temperando linguæ adolescens senem vicero." Having patiently waited until the majority had manifested to the whole constituency its factious spirit, and been compelled by the pressure of public opinion, contrary to the original design, to pass the Mutiny Act, and grant the usual supplies, at length on the 25th of March, with the

approval of nearly the whole kingdom, he advised the King to resort to the decisive measure of dissolving his parliament. The result of this appeal to the sense of the nation is well known. Upwards of one hundred and sixty members, of whom nearly the whole number were friends of the late administration, lost their seats. Amongst those who were first introduced to public life at this conjuncture was Addington. By the unanimous vote of the constituency of Devizes, he was returned to parliament as one of their representatives in the place of his respected brother-in-law Mr. Sutton, who resigned his seat to him, not from compulsion, for no man ever more fully enjoyed the confidence and affection of his constituents, but from a strong desire on his own part, that one entertaining the same principles, and more suitable as to age and activity for the post, should perform its duties.*

The new senator thus announced his success to his friend Pole Carew: —

"Devizes, April 8th or 9th, 1784.

"I received your letter this morning just before I went to the hall, and seize the first moment on my return from it to assure you of my success. It is only alloyed by the reflection that it will not add to the too infrequent opportunities we have had of being together. But you must turn your thoughts elsewhere. Why should you withdraw from parliament, my dear Carew, because your sense of what was due to your family has separated you from Sir F. B.? As for our sentiments, they cannot materially differ. Sir James

* This amiable man finished his honourable and useful course, after a long illness, on the 7th of July, 1801, having survived just long enough to see the relative whom he had himself introduced to public life occupying the highest office in the state.

Long is my colleague. Our adversary declined the contest, and went off early this morning for town.

"Affectionately yours,

"H. A."

Amongst the gratulatory letters received on this occasion, was one from Addington's old master, Dr. Joseph Warton, which is here presented to the reader as the earliest record found in the collection of the sentiments of that remarkable man.

"Winton, April 27th, 1784.

"I cannot possibly forbear expressing to you the sincere pleasure I feel in giving you joy of being elected into a parliament that, I hope and trust, will save this country from destruction, by crushing the most shameful, and the most pernicious coalition, that, I think, ever disgraced the annals of any kingdom, ancient or modern. I am, dear Sir, with true regard, yours, &c. &c.

"Jos. Warton."

With similar expressions of delight was this event hailed by many other friends, who all evidently entertained very sanguine expectations of his success in public life—expectations which, it will be seen in the sequel, were not disappointed.

CHAPTER III.

1784—1789.

Mr. Addington's Introduction to public Life. Serves in Election Committees. Seconds the Address in the House of Commons. Mr. Hiley Addington loses his Election for Berwick. Lord Apsley and Mr. Addington robbed on returning from Hollwood. Death of Lady Harriet Eliot. Birth of Mr. Addington's eldest Son. Impeachment of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Grey's first Appearance in political Life. Mr. Addington's Speech on the Horse Tax. Remarks on Mr. Wilberforce, and Letter from him. Death of Mr. Hammond, Mr. Addington's Father-in-Law. Marriage of Mr. Bragge and Miss Charlotte Addington. Abolition of Slave Trade Question. Westminster Election. Visit to Lyme. Lord Grenville. Anecdote. Letters from Mr. Pitt. The King's Illness — Dr. Addington called in. Death of Mr. Speaker Cornwall. Mr. Grenville elected. The King's Convalescence. Mr. Addington's Verses on the Subject. His Election as Speaker of the House of Commons. Letters of Congratulation.

WE have now to accompany the youthful member of the legislature from the tranquil haven of private life to the troubled ocean of politics. In preparing himself for this undertaking the writer has enjoyed a gratification, in which, he firmly believes, his readers will participate. Amidst the disheartening details of intrigue, inconsistency, and selfishness, which it is too often the historian's painful duty to investigate, it has been refreshing to his feelings to trace the undeviating loyalty, patriotism, and rectitude, of Addington's whole political career; a career on which, from first to last, self-interest had no influence whatever, and in which, though judgment may or may not occasionally

have been at fault, and means to carry out intentions been wanting, integrity and firmness never for a moment failed. In the course of his long and varied day, many great and good men differed from him in opinion, and felt it their duty to censure his measures and oppose his government; but none who ever knew the man questioned the purity of his motives, the fidelity of his friendships, or the disinterestedness of his conduct. The integrity of statesmen constitutes in all civilised countries one of the most valuable descriptions of national property. It is at once the result and the reward of a free and happy constitution; and, rich as Great Britain is in this species of inheritance, it may here be stated without partiality, that modern history does not represent any public character who, on all occasions, more cheerfully sacrificed his personal feelings and interests to his duties, than did the subject of this biography.

Addington was early observed to pay much attention to the business of the House; but although his attendance in parliament afforded him increased opportunities of intercourse with Mr. Pitt, of which doubtless he gladly availed himself, he did not immediately yield to the attempts even of his illustrious friend, to excite in his mind a desire and thirst for distinction. On one occasion, when these young men were riding down together to Hollwood*, Mr. Pitt was, as usual, urging his companion to follow up the political career which seemed so adapted to his talents, when the latter alleged in his excuse the distaste and disqualification for public life created by early habits and natural

* Mr. Pitt's seat, near Bromley, Kent.

disposition. Upon this Pitt burst forth with the following quotation from Waller's beautiful poem on the ill-fated Henrietta Maria: —

"The lark that shuns on lofty boughs to build
Her humble nest, lies silent in the field;
But should the promise of a brighter day,
Aurora smiling, bid her rise and play;
Quickly she'll show 'twas not for want of voice,
Or power to climb, she made so low a choice;
Singing she mounts: her airy notes are stretch'd
Towards heaven, as if from heaven alone her notes she fetch'd."

With these words he set spurs to his horse, and left his companion to make the intended application.

It will readily be imagined that, under the influence and example of such a mighty mind as Pitt's, Addington speedily imbibed a desire to climb to eminence by some shorter and brighter path than the slow and winding labyrinth of the law. It does not appear when his elevation to the chair of the House of Commons was first seriously contemplated, but the suggestion was originally made by Mr. Hatsell, chief clerk of that House, and the learned and respected editor of the "Precedents" which bear his name. Addington, speaking of this period in after life, used to say that when he first took his seat in 1784 he was personally known but to three members of the House, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Goddard, and his own colleague, Sir James Long. Five years afterwards he was their speaker.

His first parliamentary duty was to serve on the committee in the Downton election, to which, as petitions were serious matters in those days, he was re-appointed on the second meeting of the parliament in January, 1785. After passing the recess at Lyme, and amongst his connexions in the west of England,

he had returned to town at Christmas, and was now quietly but assiduously acquiring that knowledge of the laws and practice of parliament, which a few years afterwards he was enabled to turn to so good account. "You are preparing for *your* school, the House of Commons," said Huntingford, "and I for *mine*—the humbler of the two. Yet there are not many kinds of study by which a man can benefit society so much as by educating a race of able and virtuous men for the next generation."

During this period of his life, Addington appears to have suffered considerably from bodily indisposition. When congratulating his father on the marriage of his brother John Hiley Addington, which took place this year early in the month of November, he apologised for the "listlessness and stupidity" which illness had occasioned, adding, "I do not yet come up to the definition of a man as 'animal risibile.'" This early delicacy of constitution must surprise those who witnessed only, as the writer of this memoir did, the wonderful health which he enjoyed during the last twenty-five years of his happy and vigorous old age. Perhaps the studious and sedentary life he then led may have produced a feeling of lassitude, which more active exertions of mind and body subsequently removed. That he possessed a frame capable of unusual endurance, was evidenced by the labours which he afterwards underwent in the public service.

The commencement of the parliamentary session of 1786 afforded his friend Pitt an opportunity of tempting him one step further into public life, by selecting him to second the address in the House of Commons.

To Henry Addington, Esq.

"My dear Sir, Downing Street, Jan. 4th, 1786.

"The approach of the session makes me naturally anxious to see the moving and seconding the address placed in respectable hands. On this ground I should feel particular pleasure if you could be prevailed upon to undertake the latter; and if you have no strong objection, I flatter myself your kindness and friendship to me will incline you to comply with this request.

"I will not disguise that in asking this favour of you, I look beyond the immediate object of the first day's debate, from a persuasion that whatever induces you to take a part in public, will equally contribute to your personal credit, and that of the system to which I have the pleasure of thinking you are so warmly attached.

"Believe me to be, with great truth and regard, my dear Sir, faithfully and sincerely yours,

"W. PITT."

Accordingly, on the 24th of January, 1786, Addington seconded the address, which was moved by Mr. Smyth, M.P. for Pomfret. The following record of the effect produced by this his first speech in the British senate is extracted from a letter, dated Jan. 31st, 1786, addressed to Dr. Addington by the Earl of Oxford.

"Give me leave to congratulate you, which I do most sincerely, on the very able manner in which your son distinguished himself at the opening of the session, on Tuesday last. There is but one opinion, I assure you, with regard to his behaviour. The same is general and universal. My brother, Mr. Alderman Harley, told me that he had never heard an address so well seconded. * * * *

"Believe me, &c. &c.

"OXFORD."

The success of his earliest oratorical effort failed to

excite in Addington that admiration of the echo of his own voice, which is so prevalent an evil in the present day; for notwithstanding the invitation contained in Mr. Pitt's letter, he did not again address the House during that session. Perhaps he participated in the feeling thus candidly expressed by Mr. Gibbon: "I shall not speak. The good speakers fill me with despair, the bad with horror." It appears indeed from his correspondence with his brother, that he was steadily occupied all that time in making himself master of the great political questions of the day, especially of the one to which the genius of Burke was on the eve of attaching so much importance — the state of our Indian empire, and the conduct of Warren Hastings. On the 17th of February in this year, Burke had commenced his nine years' agitation of this exciting subject; on the 4th of April he had, in his place in the House, charged Hastings with sundry high crimes and misdemeanours, comprised in a series of twenty-two articles; and on the 26th of May, Addington mentioned the question to his brother in the following terms: —

"Sorry I am, my dear Hiley, that my time is too limited to admit of my speaking at large respecting Hastings. I am busily going through the charges, and his defence, with all the references; without which it is utterly impossible to form a well-grounded opinion. The evidence, as far as it has gone, has rather tended to refute the charges it was called to support. I am convinced Hastings is not blameless; but I think I see enough to satisfy me, that if there is a bald place on his head, we ought to cover it with laurels. I am just going to the House."

It appears from the above extract, and from the vote which he afterwards gave on the 7th of February,

1787, with regard to the treatment of the princesses of Oude, that Addington took in the first instance a somewhat less favourable view of Hastings's conduct, or rather of the circumstances which weighed in its justification, than posterity has subsequently done, or than he himself took at a later period of his life.

But little progress had been made in this inquiry, when, on the 11th of July, the session was prorogued in the usual manner. Three days afterwards, Addington received a most friendly letter from Mr. Pitt, informing him, "that a vacancy would shortly take place for Berwick, on Lord Delaval's being made a British peer; and as his Lordship's interest would probably decide the election of his successor, he, Mr. Pitt, hoped it would present a favourable opening for Hiley, should he still retain the wish of coming into parliament." Hiley readily accepted this offer; but unfortunately encountering a formidable opponent in Sir Gilbert Elliot, after a long canvass and arduous struggle, he was eventually defeated by a majority of forty-five.* In the course of this summer one of those unpleasant incidents, from which the present generation is happily exempt, occurred to Addington and his friend Lord Apsley. They had been dining with Mr. Pitt, at Hollwood, and were returning towards London, in their chaise, at rather a late hour, when they were stopped by two robbers, and deprived of their watches and purses. Addington described the circumstance to his brother Hiley, on the 8th August, in the following words:—"I have scarcely time to add that Lord Apsley and I were plundered of our

* Mr. Hiley Addington was returned to parliament in the following year as member for Truro.

watches and money by two highwaymen, on Sunday night, between Bromley and Lewisham. They took William's horse from him, a hack, and no one knows what has become of it." He used afterwards to relate, that when, after delivering up his watch, he turned towards his companion, who had provided himself with a cheap watch, in anticipation of such a mischance, he found him convulsed with suppressed laughter, occasioned, it appeared, by the evident reluctance with which the surrender had been made. His friend Admiral Trigge, after condoling with him on his loss, expressed a hope "that his purse was not heavy, nor his watch of gold;" adding, that "Lord Apsley's tellership may console him; but I do not hear that you have as yet met with any reward for your public services, other than the consciousness of having performed them." At this period occur several letters written by Addington to his father, under feelings of deep distress at the untimely death, in childbed, of his old acquaintance Lady Harriet Eliot, the sister of Pitt, and wife of the Hon. Edward James Eliot. She was, as Addington observes, a very beautiful woman, and possessed of every quality "which could make her amiable and attractive." Pitt's sorrow on the occasion was excessive, and the anxiety of his friends on his account was increased by the circumstance, that only on the the previous Friday he had undergone an operation. Addington's fears for his own wife, who was about to incur a danger similar to that which proved fatal to Lady Harriet, were soon happily terminated by Mrs. Addington's safe delivery of a son. Amongst the congratulatory letters received on that occasion was

one, the first of a correspondence, which was maintained with mutual confidence for many years, from that admirable specimen of a brave, manly, warm-hearted British admiral, Sir Alexander Hood, afterwards Lord Bridport.

The first business of importance which occupied the attention of parliament on its meeting in 1787 was the impeachment of Warren Hastings. On the 7th of February, Sheridan opened the third charge against him, for his treatment of the princesses of Oude, in a speech of five hours and a half, which Pitt, Fox, and Burke pronounced to have surpassed all they had ever heard or read of the best eloquence of ancient or modern times. The reasons which induced Addington to vote in the majority on this occasion are given in a letter to his father dated February 9th:

"Before you can receive this," he says, "you will have been informed that Mr. Hastings stands accused by a very considerable majority of the House of Commons for his conduct towards the princesses of Oude. I am sure you will hear with pain that I felt it to be my duty to be a party in the accusation. The papers will convey but a faint idea of a speech which I heard Fox declare to be the most wonderful effort of the human mind that, perhaps, had ever been made. Mr. Pitt, and indeed the whole House, spoke of it in terms of admiration and astonishment scarcely inferior to those of Mr. Fox. Mr. Pitt's speech confirmed the impression made by Sheridan, and in my opinion placed the transaction in its true light, divested of high colouring and irrelevant circumstances of exaggeration."

If the high authorities named in the above letter were thus influenced by the wand of the enchanter, it is not surprising that Addington, who was keenly

sensitive to the beauties of eloquence, should have been led by their example. But when we find those eminent men concurring in a proposition for an adjournment of the debate, because they could not depend on the sobriety of their own judgment under so powerful a spell, what clearer proof can we require that oratory is an unsafe instrument, and a deceptive ally, in grave judicial proceedings; and that numerous and popular assemblies are unsuitable places for the deliberate investigation of truth? The letter which Addington next addressed to his father describes the earliest parliamentary effort of a statesman, for whose integrity, talents, and manly independence, though generally differing from him in opinion, he ever expressed a high degree of respect and esteem. He used, indeed, often to observe of Mr., afterwards Earl Grey how much it was to be regretted that, during so many of his Lordship's earlier years, he should have pursued a line of public conduct which virtually prevented him (at least in a ministerial capacity) from rendering to his king and country those important services for which no man possessed higher qualifications than himself.

"Feb. 22d, 1787.

"We had a glorious debate last night upon the motion for an address of thanks to the King for having negotiated the commercial treaty. I was not in bed till three o'clock, which to a committee man is rather an unseasonable hour. A new speaker presented himself to the House, and went through his first performance with an eclat which has not been equalled within my recollection. His name is Grey. He is not more than twenty-two years of age, and he took his seat, which is for Northumberland, only in the present session. I do not go too far in declaring that in the advantages of figure, voice, elocution, and manner, he is not surpassed by

any one member of the House; and I grieve to say that he was last night in the ranks of opposition, from whence there is no prospect of his being detached. Mr. Grenville, I should also say, did himself peculiar honour, and indeed has laid the foundation of a very high reputation for great information, and unremitting perseverance. Of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, I say nothing, excepting that they were quite themselves."

The subject, in opposition to which Mr. Grey made this masterly display of talent, was Mr. Pitt's new commercial treaty with France. In his speech he extolled "the wisdom of that established system of our policy, in which France had always been regarded with the most suspicious jealousy, at least, if not as our natural foe." It is curious to contrast this sentiment with the far wiser and more generous principle of friendly intercourse, by which, when he was at the head of affairs, above forty years afterwards, his Lordship's own policy towards France was influenced. The Christian and patriot cannot hesitate in preferring this his riper judgment to the opinion he had formed in the rashness of youth; and it may also be mentioned, as a proof of Mr. Pitt's superior and foreseeing mind, that it outstripped in its conclusions on commercial subjects the intellectual march of millions, and as early as 1787 commenced the application of principles which have since led, and are still leading, to most important changes.

It appears by a letter dated May 29th, in which Addington announced to his father the satisfactory termination of the session, that Mr. Grey had fallen into the error which brilliant and premature success in parliament so often produces, of engaging too frequently in debate, and of measuring himself with those who possessed greater knowledge and experience

than himself. He says, "Mr. Grey's credit as a man of discretion and temper remains to be established. His reputation for abilities has not increased within the last two months; whilst he has, in all respects, enhanced that of the person (Mr. Pitt) to whom he ventured to oppose himself." Addington himself appears to have erred in the contrary direction. He had now sat four whole sessions in parliament, and had only just made his second speech, which is thus alluded to by his sister Charlotte when addressing her father, May 4th, 1787: —

"Though I wrote to you so lately, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of informing you that my brother was induced to speak in the House on Wednesday, on the subject of the horse tax, and acquitted himself so entirely to the expectation of his most sanguine friends, that they now are convinced he can never again feel more than a becoming embarrassment on a similar occasion."

From these words we may infer that Addington certainly did entertain a more than common reluctance to stand forward as a public speaker; and that his friends were conscious of the fact. It is the opinion of the present writer, that he never fully succeeded in overcoming this feeling; and that many of the contingencies of his future life may be traced to its continued existence. But whatever may have been the motive, certain it is, that he followed another road to distinction; and by devoting himself to committees, and the real business of the House, made full preparation for that important office, the duties of which he subsequently discharged so well. It is a strong proof of the high estimation in which he was then held, that, notwithstanding his unwillingness to

present himself to notice, he was regarded by all his friends as a rising and promising young man. This opinion is expressed in several letters written at this period, especially in one from Lord Oxford, to Doctor Addington, in which his Lordship observes, "There is nobody, in the general opinion, coming into the world with a greater degree of reputation than your son." Shortly after the close of the session Addington retired into Berkshire. His intimacy, however, with Mr. Pitt and the ministers generally, led to frequent visits to London, on one of which occasions, June 15th, he wrote thus to his father:—"I hope you were not alarmed at the sudden depression of the funds: it arose from a report that there had been a division in the cabinet, and that Mr. Pitt was going out. I can only say that I met three of the cabinet ministers yesterday in Downing Street, and that the only apparent contention amongst them was, who should eat most turtle."

Notwithstanding his intimacy with the prime minister, Addington had now been three years in parliament without office. It appears, however, from a letter which he wrote about this time to Mr. Bragge, that he entertained no very anxious desire that the period of expectation should terminate. "You will, I know, expect me to say something of myself: but I am still in a state of uncertainty, though by no means a disagreeable one, as I guess the *quid*, and hope soon to say something to you respecting the *quando*. The former I infer, not only from the situation of the person from whom the intimation first came, but also from circumstances which have occurred since we parted; as to the other, my confidence is entire, and I shall not want patience."

The next document which occurs in the order of time, and which is the earliest of a long series of letters from the same correspondent, extending through upwards of forty years, is subscribed with the name of Wilberforce. Addington's intimacy with that distinguished man, commenced at a very early period, and terminated only at the decease of the latter, in July, 1833; but although founded on feelings of mutual respect and esteem, it did not produce an entire accordance in their views and sentiments, for Addington took higher ground than Mr. Wilberforce on ecclesiastical subjects. He declined also to join the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and he was only a gradual abolitionist of the slave trade, as he apprehended that the precipitate measures urged by his friend would but aggravate the evils he was labouring to remove. These shades of difference, especially the last, appear to have made a deeper impression upon Mr. Wilberforce's mind than Addington was aware of; for occasionally, the former could not refrain from inserting in his private "Diary" hasty expressions regarding his friend, which, as in a calmer moment they would not, it is hoped, even have been conceived, so assuredly, in justice to both parties, they ought never to have been published. Lord Sidmouth, who was very far advanced in life, when the Memoirs of Mr. Wilberforce, containing these unexpected remarks on himself, were placed in his hands, showed great magnanimity on the occasion. He had long justly prided himself on possessing the respect and friendship of such a man; but although greatly surprised at what he now read, he merely permitted himself to

remark, as he closed the volume; "Well, Wilberforce does not speak *of* me as he spoke *to* me, I am sorry to say!" Some time afterwards, his Lordship observed to a member of his family, that he was satisfied the book did not represent at all correctly the state of Wilberforce's feelings towards him.* These were the only two occasions on which he was ever heard to mention the subject.

The first letter which Addington received from this estimable man is dated, Bath, July 23d, 1787, and partakes of that cheerful character which Wilberforce fully showed is not inconsistent with real piety.

* The following may be taken as a specimen of the singular manner in which Mr. Wilberforce mingled his praise and censure when writing respecting his friend. "The Premier is a man of sense, of a generous mind, and pure and upright intentions, and of more religion than almost any other politician; but, alas! he has sadly disappointed me." (*Life*, vol. iii. p. 88.) On the other hand, Addington always expressed the highest admiration of Mr. Wilberforce's piety, benevolence, talents, and eloquence; he did not, however, entertain the same opinion of his judgment, firmness, and consistency in matters of business. In proof of this, he repeated the following anecdote, which is here given from the author's notes, as taken down at the time: "May 5th, 1842. Lord Sidmouth told us that one morning at a cabinet meeting, after an important debate in the House of Commons (the subject of which he had forgotten), some one said, 'I wonder how Wilberforce voted last night.' On which Lord Liverpool observed, 'I do not know how he voted, but this I am pretty sure of, that in whatever way he voted, he repents of his vote this morning.' Lord Sidmouth added, 'It was odd enough that I had no sooner returned to my office than Wilberforce was announced, who said, "Lord Sidmouth, you will be surprised at the vote I gave last night, and indeed I am not myself altogether satisfied with it." To which I replied, My dear Wilberforce, I shall never be surprised at any vote you may give.' Pursuing the conversation, I soon convinced him that he had really voted wrong, when he said, 'Dear me, I wish I had seen you last night before the debate.'"

"I inquired after you," he says, "as I passed through London, and was not wholly without hope of catching you at Devizes, but being unsuccessful in both my attempts at a personal interview, I have recourse to my pen. One object of my writing is to apprise you of my being here. I believe you are often *hovering* in the neighbourhood; and if you are found in these circumstances within the next three weeks, I shall direct, in strict execution of the law, that you be brought into port, and detained for trial,—in plain English, I trust if you find yourself within twenty miles of Bath, that you will come over and spend a day with me, and if Mrs. A. be with you, so much the better. It will give me great pleasure to hear from you that she has quite recovered, as I am much interested about you, *though you declined being of the society.** Yours, very affectionately,

"W. WILBERFORCE."

But we must leave these lighter subjects to accompany Mr. Addington to the house of mourning. Early in August, he was summoned from studying Adam Smith, and writing verses on "the Bard of Coila," of whom he was an enthusiastic admirer, to the death-bed of his father-in-law, Leonard Hammond, Esq., at Cheam. The high respect which he entertained for that excellent man he thus expressed, when informing his father of the unexpected event:—"No man, I believe, was ever more respected and beloved. The good esteemed and honoured him, and amongst the worst of men he could not have had an enemy; for he scrutinised no one's imperfections, interfered with no one's pursuits, and mortified no one's vanity.

* This alludes to the Society for the Suppression of Vice, of which Addington declined becoming a member, on the ground that it did not become so young a man as he was to set himself up as a "censor castigatorque minorum."

I shall always be thankful that I have known him." The condolences of Dr. Addington on this occasion were conveyed to his son in the following words: — "Your account of our relations at Cheam is as good as can be expected. They have the comfort of knowing that Mr. Hammond was a cheerful and true Christian; that he had fulfilled the ends for which he was born, and that his whole life was a preparation for a purer state. The death of such a man is no evil to himself, in my estimation; and I think his surviving and reflecting family will look upon it as a gracious removal from the miseries of this world to the blessedness of another."

On the death of the Duke of Rutland, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Marquis of Buckingham was appointed to succeed; and early in December a report became very prevalent, that Addington would accompany his Lordship, as chief secretary. Whether this idea ever had any foundation beyond mere rumour, cannot now be ascertained, but numerous inquiries were put to Addington on the subject, by his correspondents, to one of whom he stated, in reply, that Ireland was not his destination.

At Christmas, 1787, we find him changing his residence, from the house in Southampton Street, which, with furniture, plate, linen, &c., had been presented to him at his marriage, by his attached and munificent brother-in-law, Mr. Sutton, to one situated in Lower Brook Street, which he continued to occupy until after his election as Speaker, in 1789.

In the year 1788, Addington had the satisfaction of seeing his early and valued friend Mr. Bragge married to his youngest sister. He was a man of high

powers of mind, of extensive research, and great attainments, and he remained through life united to Addington, not only by the ties of friendship and family affection, but also by the closest sympathy of principle and sentiments, on all the great subjects of public interest. He was at this time a practising barrister on the Oxford circuit; but already his correspondence savoured more of political than of legal topics, and he laboured to encourage Addington in his political pursuits, and to excite in his mind a stronger thirst for parliamentary distinction.

During this session the momentous question of the abolition of negro slavery, which has agitated the public mind in this and every other civilised country for sixty years, and is not yet by any means finally settled, first seriously attracted the notice of parliament.

It has been asserted, that the earliest public attempt to put an end to the traffic of slaves carried on by European nations on the coast of Africa was made by the Quakers of the United States of America, and that the same sect took the lead also in Great Britain, by presenting a petition to parliament on the subject in the session of 1787. The cause soon became extremely popular in England, and the conduct of it in the House of Commons was intrusted, by a kind of general consent, to Mr. Wilberforce. That gentleman was prevented by indisposition from bringing the subject before parliament in 1788, and, consequently, on the 9th of May, Mr. Pitt, by whose advice an inquiry into the allegations contained in the petitions respecting it had been instituted before a committee of the privy council, moved a resolution, in Mr. Wil-

berforce's absence, to the effect, "that the House would, early in the next session, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave trade." It will at once be believed that Mr. Burke took a most lively interest in this discussion; and it must be admitted, if the statement contained in the following extract from a letter of Huntingford's be correct, that his powerful mind had already taken a view of the nature and difficulties of the question which was well-nigh prophetic.

"Dr. Lawrence, our Winchester acquaintance, called on me lately. He talked much on Mr. Burke's ideas respecting the slave trade. I found by him that Mr. Burke foresaw the total ruin of the West India colonies, if the trade were at once prohibited. He is for a better regulation of the ships which carry on that infamous commerce; he would lay the captains under restrictions, and punish them with rigour for wanton severity or brutal inhumanity to the slaves; and when the poor creatures are purchased at the West India islands, he would have them instructed in religion, and be permitted to purchase their own freedom, when, by industry, they could acquire a sufficient sum for that purpose. For their religious instruction he would erect more churches; and to enable them in time to accumulate the price of their ransom, he would enact that the property of a slave should be as sacred as that of a freeman."

These were wise and statesmanlike views. They aimed only at what was practicable, namely, establishing a foundation of religion and civilisation, upon which the superstructure of total emancipation might subsequently have been raised; and had this object been attempted by such gradual means, instead of by a violent and total dislocation of all existing claims, regulations, and interests, it appears probable

that far greater success would have attended the noble effort than has hitherto resulted from it.*

Addington's time during this session was chiefly occupied on the Bedford Committee, having, as he told his father, "been placed for a third time in thraldom as a member of a committee which would occupy him at least six weeks."

Parliament rose early in July, and Addington immediately set out for the west of England. He and Mr. Grenville had engaged to pass a portion of the recess together at Lyme; and Addington had proceeded as far as his brother-in-law Mr. Hoskins's seat, in Somersetshire, when he was suddenly recalled to London by the following note from Mr. Pitt: —

"July 15th, 1788.

"We are in the midst of a Westminster canvass, with a great deal of strength on our side, and ten times as much activity on the other. I think our chance not very good unless we get together as many friends as we can, to give some spirit to our cause. You are, I think, not an unnatural person to occur on such an occasion; and I believe you will take it less ill to be troubled with this letter, than if I scrupled to tell you how things stand. If, therefore, without any material inconvenience, you could give us your assistance in town, I should feel very much obliged to you. I shall,

* All Mr. Burke's provisions, as recited by Dr. Lawrence, for the present mitigation and gradual abolition of the sad evil of negro slavery, will be found embodied in a "Sketch of the Negro Code," *i. e.* a rough outline of a bill in parliament, which is inserted in vol. ix. p. 285. of the 8vo. edition of Burke's works. Mr. Windham alluded to this "Sketch" in terms of high approbation, in the debate in the Commons upon the bill for the abolition of the slave trade, March 15th, 1796.

however, complain very seriously in my turn, if you let this interfere with any thing that is material to you. If not, the sooner we see you the better. Ever yours,

"W. PITT."

Addington used to relate in his old age, with great satisfaction, the eager haste with which he rode up to London in obedience to this summons, and the zest with which he entered into the wordy and paper warfare of the election. His zeal, however, and his missiles were alike unavailing; for on the 4th of August, Lord John Townshend, the Whig candidate, obtained his election over his opponent, Sir Alexander Hood, by a majority of 823.

Relaxation had been recommended to Addington during the recess in the stanza subjoined*, and it cannot be doubted that after this disappointment at Westminster, he was by no means unwilling to follow the prescription. Accordingly, on the 12th of August, we find him happily established at Lyme. It was during his present visit to this place, that a circumstance occurred which he was accustomed to describe in the following words: — "In August, 1788, Lord Grenville passed a month with me at Lyme, in conformity with a wish he had expressed to that effect. One day we visited Lord Rolle at Bicton, and were speculating on the probable successor to the then Speaker, Cornwall; giving it as our opinion that we neither of us had any chance, and that Mr. Edward Phelips, of Montacute, would be the most

* Mitte civiles super urbe curas:
Occidit Turcis Alimæniæ agmen:
Gallus infestis sibi luctuosis
Dissidet armis.

eligible person. Within twelve months we were both speakers ourselves."

On the 12th of September, Addington received a note from Mr. Pitt, written at Hertford Bridge, on his way to Burton Pynsent, hoping that he would be "able to spare him a day there before the following Tuesday, that they may talk over such things as had occurred since they parted." Addington, in a note of the same day to his father, after stating that "he had parted from Grenville with great regret on Monday," alludes to this letter from Mr. Pitt, and states his intention to join him at Burton Pynsent on the following day. The next letter he received from Mr. Pitt is dated Hollwood, Sept. 22d, and appears to contain an intimation that the minister at that time was contemplating a dissolution of parliament. "You made a note on the borough of Chippenham, of the weakness of Dawkins's interest. Can you learn any further particulars about it while you are at Devizes? My line of study you see continues the same."

Ten days afterwards Mr. Pitt wrote again to his friend from Overton, on his second visit to Burton Pynsent, requesting another interview at that place, that "they may compare the progress of their inquiries, though on his side he had not much to boast of." He added, "You are anxiously expected in town for the 5th of November, when the blue and orange ought to assemble in force." Addington accepted also this invitation, leaving Lyme on the 6th, and returning to it on the 8th of October.

The first piece of intelligence which Addington received on his return to town early in November related to the illness of his Majesty. It was commu-

nicated to him by his friend Mr. Grenville, in three notes, written on the 7th, 10th, and 13th of November. They represented the state of the royal sufferer as "most alarming, and giving room for the utmost apprehensions of incurable disorder." "These particulars," he added, "have been as much as possible concealed from the public. I thought it would be more satisfactory to you to know the real truth, and indeed it cannot much longer be a secret any where. Parliament is to meet on the 20th. This will entirely put an end to my plans of leaving London for the present."

The King's illness continuing with unabated violence, Mr. Pitt, who knew how much attention Dr. Addington had paid to that particular description of malady, was extremely anxious that he should be consulted on the occasion, notwithstanding his long retirement from general practice. The following letter to Addington, dated November 28th, explains the manner in which he effected that object:—"I found the best way of proposing what I so much wished, was to state it in the name of the Duke of Montagu, Lord Ailesbury, and myself, to the physicians. In consequence of my suggestion a messenger is sent from Windsor to-day to your father, desiring him to be there to-morrow, when I mean to go down to take my chance of finding him. * * * Dr. Warren seemed extremely glad that your father should be consulted upon the case."

The summons alluded to above was written in the following terms, and is signed by Dr. Warren:—

"Dear Sir,

"It gives me great pleasure to be honoured with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's commands to desire you to

come to Windsor, to consult with his Majesty's physicians on the case of his Majesty."

In consequence of the above command, Dr. Addington saw his Majesty twice on Thursday Nov. 27th, and twice on each of the three following days. He was afterwards examined, in conjunction with the King's physicians, Sirs Lucas Pepys and George Baker, Drs. Warren, Gisborne, Francis Willis, and Reynolds, first on the 3d December, by the privy council, and again on the 9th, by the parliamentary committee. On both occasions he expressed a very strong expectation of his Majesty's recovery, founded on the circumstance, "that this illness had not for its forerunner that melancholy which usually precedes a serious attack of this nature."

In the midst of the discussions by which parliament and the nation were agitated at this distressing conjuncture, Mr. Cornwall, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was seized with a dangerous illness, which terminated fatally on the 2d of January. Mr. Grenville was appointed his successor, four months only after Addington and himself had conferred the reversion of that high office upon Mr. Phelips. The brief period of Mr. Grenville's presidency was distinguished by very important discussions on the Regency question. He himself delivered in committee, upon the 16th January, one of the most luminous and impressive speeches that was made on the subject; and Addington also, in another debate, expressed his opinion on the same question, in a manner which, his father informed him, "elicited the encomiums of a large party of Lady Chatham's friends assembled at Burton Pynsent." Of the animated character of de-

bates in those days, some idea can be formed from the following sketch of the one which occurred on the 5th of February, sent by Addington to his father:—

"The debate was uncommonly spirited, and ended most happily: our numbers were 213 to 89. A motion made by Lord G. Cavendish for a call of the House gave rise to the conflict. Fox rose as soon as the mover sat down; his opening was particularly fine, but he was not, I think, 'qualis ab incepto.' Mr. Pitt's answer made a wonderful impression on the House; indeed, he never was on stronger ground, and he maintained it very strongly. Burke followed him, and discredited himself. Indeed, he was violent almost to madness; and I believe his party may thank him for a diminution of their numbers on the division. His humiliation was completed by a reply from Wilberforce, and a rejoinder from Pitt."*

The attention of the whole nation was now concentrated on this all-absorbing subject. It was generally understood that an immediate change in the government would follow the passing of the Regency Bill, and the dismissal of the minister whose able measures had, in the short space of five years, raised the finances of the country, from that ruinous depression to which the war in America had reduced them, to a state of unexampled prosperity, was by many looked forward to with dismay, as a grievous aggravation of the national regret at the illness of a monarch so justly regarded as the father of his people. Amidst the prolonged and desperate struggles for pre-eminence which occurred between the rival parties, hope at length began to whisper, that the *casus belli*

* Lord Sidmouth observed to the writer of this work, May 16th, 1842, "Burke's language in the House of Commons at the time of the King's illness, in 1789, was occasionally very violent and offensive."

was no longer the same, and that a merciful Providence, unobserved by the combatants, was gradually removing the ground and subject-matter of contention. Addington gave his father the first intimation of this happy change in his Majesty's condition, on the 8th of February.

"To a favourable account of ourselves," he observes, "I am enabled to add one of his Majesty which will give you pleasure. He has indicated no disposition to violence for several days, and is, in general, composed and easy. Dr. Warren said yesterday that he had not seen him so nearly himself since his illness. * * * People begin to look cheerful again, and to flatter themselves with the hope that the interests of the nation may yet be preserved; and that the only consequence of his Majesty's malady may be, a knowledge of the faithful attachment of the people at large, and a discovery of those who have proved or forfeited their pretensions to his confidence and favour."

Six days afterwards he followed up this cheering report with one still more favourable.

"Dr. Warren," he says, "particularly observes that the appearance of the King's eyes is vastly improved; and his pulse is certainly reduced from 110 to 62 in a minute. The last is the rate of it when in health. It is now generally believed that no change of government will take place at present."

The next in this series of filial bulletins is dated February the 20th, the day following the suspension of the discussions on the Regency Bill in the House of Lords, and states; —

"'The King continues to make daily progress in recovery.' This is the St. James's account of to-day. The joy that prevails you will easily conceive, because it will be felt by your-

self. *Your opinions and reasons are every where quoted;* and, from their proved propriety, I must own that I derive no small addition to my exultation at the present moment. The proceedings in the House of Lords are delayed, and I trust that they will never be renewed, on the Bill of Regency."

The last letter on this subject, which is dated March 7th, represents the royal convalescent as receiving the congratulations of his subjects, after his five months' illness.

"The Speaker of the House of Commons and several members of the administration waited upon the King yesterday, at Kew, and it was observed by all, that his Majesty never appeared more healthy, easy, and cheerful, within their recollection." *

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* On this occasion Mr. Addington expressed his loyalty in a copy of verses, which, as they were much circulated at the time, will here be inserted.

ON THE KING'S RECOVERY IN 1789.

When sinks the orb of day, a borrow'd light
The moon displays, pale regent of the night;
Vain are her beams to bid the golden grain
Spread Plenty's blessings o'er the smiling plain;
No power has she, except from shore to shore,
To bid the ocean's troubled billows roar.
With hungry cries the wolf her coming greets,
Then Rapine stalks triumphant through the streets;
Avarice and Fraud in secret ambush lurk,
And Treason's sons the desperate purpose work.
But, lo! the sun with orient splendour shines,
And scarce observ'd, the moon's pale orb declines;
Night's guilty spectres own the sov'reign sway,
And shrink aghast beneath the eye of day.
Hail! source of life and light, all nature cries,
Oh! come resume thy station in the skies;
There long in cloudless glory mayst thou reign,
And distant be the hour when thou shalt set again!

We have now arrived at an important epoch in Addington's life. It has already been seen that during the five years of Mr. Pitt's administration he had privately occupied a proud and gratifying position, as the frequent companion and confidant of that great minister. He was surrounded also by a circle of friends, numerous for so young and untried a man, who, as well as Mr. Pitt himself, had appreciated his talents and capacity for office, at a higher estimate than public opinion had hitherto possessed any opportunity of forming; for as yet his services in parliament had been rather useful than brilliant. He had actively devoted himself to committees, and to the consideration of the forms, practices, privileges, and constitution of the House, but had seldom risen to speak; and his speeches on such occasions, though warmly applauded by his friends, were not so remarkable as to attract public attention, amidst that constellation of eloquent men by which he was surrounded. Inadequately, however, as he must then have been estimated by the country at large, the correspondence evidently shows that for some time, he had been regarded by his friends as a person marked out by the minister, and recommended by his own qualifications, for some office of responsibility and importance. But from whatever cause it may have arisen, whether from the absence of suitable opportunities, or from obstacles supposed to be presented by his youth or inexperience, or from his own unambitious disposition, and desire of still further preparation before entering upon the service of his king and country, he had never yet received any official appointment whatever. On several occasions, indeed, we have found Bragge,

Carew, and other friends, anxiously inquiring of him the results of certain conferences with Mr. Pitt respecting his own accession to office; but in neither of those instances could any result be reported. The time, however, had now arrived. Whether it was that Mr. Grenville's high talents and reputation had rendered his services essential in a still higher capacity, or that his spirit recoiled at the onerous duties which awaited the Speaker at a period when Hastings's trial occupied the mornings of the House, and the French Revolution engrossed its midnight hours; whatever, in short, was the cause, on the 5th of June, the Speaker received the appointment of Secretary of State for the Home Department on the retirement of Lord Sidney, whereby he vacated the former office, after having occupied it five months. It does not appear that Mr. Pitt had long entertained the idea, that Addington was peculiarly adapted to the office of Speaker: the previous correspondence alluded to the offices of private secretary to Pitt, and of secretary in Ireland, and to seats at the Treasury and other boards, as objects suitable for him; but the chair of the House of Commons is no where mentioned. That the appointment was not wholly unexpected by him is evident from the fact that it did not find him unprepared; probably the office had only been thought of, in conjunction with several others, and was at last preferred, simply because it presented the first suitable opening that became available. On the 8th of June, Addington, who had just completed his 32nd year, was proposed to the House by the Marquis Graham, seconded by Mr. Grosvenor, as a suitable person to fill the vacant chair, and was supported by

exactly the same number of members, namely, two hundred and fifteen, that had voted for his predecessor. He was opposed also by the same respectable competitor Sir Gilbert Elliot, who numbered only one hundred and forty-two supporters, two less than on the former occasion. His elevation to this high dignity was a striking instance of the reputation that can sometimes be obtained, without any studied and public display of talent, simply by steady habits of application, by persevering attention to business, and above all, by a well-founded reputation for knowledge, temper, judgment, and integrity. Untried as Addington was, and arduous and delicate as were the duties of the office to which he was appointed, no one who really knew him ever for a moment questioned his entire qualification for them; and the result showed, that those who entertained this opinion were not mistaken. Ere many months had passed, both parties in the House were vying with each other in conferring substantial marks of favour upon their new president; and it was generally remarked of him, both during and subsequent to the long period that he occupied the chair, that no Speaker ever succeeded better in commanding the respect and attention of the House, or enjoyed to a larger extent its confidence and affection. "We were all very sorry to vote against you," was Sheridan's first address to him on his taking the chair; and certainly Addington did possess much of that indescribable attraction of conversation, appearance, and general demeanour, which is so often observed to concentrate upon one the favour and affection of many. The number of congratulations, still extant, which flowed in on father and son, upon

the happy occasion, was almost overwhelming. On the day of election, the Duke of Montagu posted down to Reading, in a chaise and four, to offer his personal congratulations to Dr. Addington; and there are letters from the Duke of Chandos, Earl of Oxford, Earl Rivers, the venerable Countess of Chatham, Lady Fingall, Mr. Eliot, Dr. Warton, Mr. Gilpin, and many others to the same effect. Lord Oxford mentions in his letter, as a memorable circumstance, the compliment paid to the new Speaker by the King, "who went down to the House for the special purpose of receiving him the very first time he had been, to the joy of his subjects, upon the throne since his restoration to health." A passage in Gilpin's letter is so characteristic of the man, that it must on no account be passed over. "I was in some little pain at first how you could restrain the natural modesty of your disposition on so sudden an elevation to one of the most awful posts I know, but Sir John Doyley and other gentlemen gave such an account of your setting out, that all apprehensions for you are now over; and I have only to regret, as a picturesque man, that such an enlightened countenance as God Almighty has given you, should be shrouded in a bush of horse-hair." Huntingford celebrated the occasion in a manner peculiar to himself, by forwarding a long and somewhat difficult copy of Greek verses, which as the usual business of the session was then at its height, with the trial of Warren Hastings superadded, it was rather to be hoped, than expected, that the Speaker should find time to interpret.

CHAPTER IV.

1789—1793.

The Speaker's official Arm Chairs. He enters on his Office. Addition made to his Salary. French Revolution. Debates on the Corporation and Test Acts in the House of Commons. Death of Dr. Addington — Adjournment of House of Commons and Letter from Mr. Pitt on the Occasion. Anecdotes of Mr. Wilkes. Dissolution of Parliament. Mr. Addington visits Brighton, and dines at the Pavilion. Is again elected Speaker. Question respecting Mr. Hastings's Impeachment. Pitt and Fox. Three great Questions carried against the Prerogative of the Crown. Session of 1791. *Paine's "Age of Reason." War with Tippoo Sultan. Col. Grattan's Letter. Difference between Fox and Burke on the Quebec Bill. Anecdote. State of Affairs in France. Meeting of Parliament. Mr. Grey's Notice of Motion on Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Pitt's Speech on it. Anecdotes. Wardenship of Cinque Ports given by the King to Mr. Pitt. Anecdote. Gen. Simcoe's Letter on the State of the Church in Upper Canada. Influx of French emigrant Priests to England. King opens Parliament. Debates. Alien Bill. Mr. Burke's Dagger Scene. Letter from Sir John Coxe Hippisley from Paris, Dec.* 31*st,* 1792. *Gloomy political Aspect at the Close of the Year.*

THOSE who were acquainted with the dining-room at the White Lodge, at Richmond Park, in which the venerable subject of this biography used to relate to a circle of delighted friends, the more striking circumstances of his eventful life, will recollect two old and bulky arm chairs standing guards, one at each side of the fire-place: they were chiefly remarkable for their lumbering size, and gaunt, inconvenient form; still there

was something in their appearance calculated to attract attention, and probably few visiters ever entered the room, without feeling curious to learn their history. These were the chairs of honour occupied by the Speaker of the House of Commons of Great Britain during the twelve first eventful years of the French Revolution: one of these had become the perquisite of that functionary on the assemblage of each new parliament, it being customary on those occasions to provide a new chair, exactly corresponding with its predecessor. Lord Sidmouth originally possessed three, for he presided during three consecutive Parliaments; but one of them had disappeared, and he never could ascertain its fate; the remaining two were the unconscious witnesses of more important proceedings on momentous occasions than probably were ever before enacted, in the same place and within the same period of time, at any epoch of English history. Of these occurrences, as far as the Speaker was only officially concerned, little, and sometimes no notice will be taken in this work, it being considered advisable, at this particular period, to confine attention to those matters in which he personally took part, or which related particularly to himself, more especially to whatever of interest either his own recollection supplied, or his correspondence has recorded, respecting those eminent individuals with whom he was now brought more immediately into contact.

The King having graciously made it the first effort of his restored health to confirm in person the choice of his faithful Commons, the new Speaker entered upon the duties of his office with a display of dignity, impartiality, and self-command, which was most gra-

tifying to his friends, and would have been mortifying to his opponents, if such could any longer have been found. It redounds, however, equally to the credit of all parties, that the cordiality with which he was hailed, and the approbation he received from one side of the House, was quickly re-echoed from the other; insomuch, that although Addington was Mr. Pitt's intimate friend, and was known to be living in close intercourse with him, during the whole time he continued Speaker, still, as he used to declare, this made no difference in the conduct of the opposition towards him. Mr. Sheridan's remark on his election has already been related, and the treatment which he received from Messrs. Fox, Burke, Windham, Grey, Sir Gilbert Elliot, his late opponent, and other party leaders, was invariably of the same respectful and friendly character.* In order, however, to show the exact feeling of the House towards its new Speaker, and to complete this part of the narrative, it is necessary to pass over for the moment all intervening subjects, and to turn at once to the debate of the 10th

* This was particularly the case in the instance of Mr. Fox, who, when one of the Speaker's children was alarmingly ill, never omitted his daily inquiries at the door. And upon some occasion when he observed the Speaker resorting to the customary injunction of the chair — "Order! order! or I shall name names," — he good humouredly amused him with the following anecdote respecting two former speakers, illustrative of the mysterious expression: "Mr. Wilkes once ventured to ask Speaker Onslow what would be the consequence of his naming names. 'The Lord in heaven only knows, sir, what the consequences would be,' was the solemn reply." Some years afterwards Mr. Fox himself put the same question to Sir Fletcher Norton, who carelessly answered: "Happen! hang me if I either know or care." Mr. Fox afterwards related this anecdote to the House in the debate of the 23d of April, 1804.

of March, in the next session of Parliament, when the Rt. Hon. Frederic Montague pointed out to the House the fluctuating and objectionable manner in which their speakers had hitherto been remunerated, partly by fees, and partly from sinecures conferred by the crown; and proposed, as the proof of his independence, that an annual salary of 5000*l.* per annum should in future be given to that great public functionary. This proposition was assented to by acclamation; and when a motion was subsequently made by Sir James Johnstone, that 6000*l.* should be inserted instead of 5000*l.* the same was carried in the manner described by Mr. Pole Carew in the following note to Dr. Addington: "Another shower of handsome and flattering things has been poured upon your son by the whole House, and an annual sum of 6000*l.* a year voted by one hundred and fifty-four members, who bore down twenty-eight of his particular friends, of whom I had the honour of being one, who voted for 5000*l.*" Such was the manner in which the dignity and emoluments of the Speaker's office were made to keep pace with the increasing importance of the body over which he presided; and it was unquestionably right, that the lustre of the House of Commons should thus be reflected in their president; and to this feeling it may probably be attributed, that each of the five individuals, who from that time to the present have vacated that chair, has been raised, for public services, to the honour of nobility.

We now return to the session of 1789, from which, in consequence of the delay of business occasioned by the King's illness, the Speaker was not released by a prorogation, until the 11th of August. On the 18th

of the same month, he had the misfortune to lose a son, aged only two months; shortly after which event, he and Mrs. Addington removed to Exbury, in the New Forest, the beautiful seat of his friend Col. Mitford, where they remained until the close of the year, recruiting their health and spirits. "Our situation here," he writes to his father, "is every thing we could wish. I have only to complain that the rides are too numerous and attractive; for I seem to divide my time between them, our meals, lounging with the children, and sleep. This mode of life, however, agrees with my health, though it is not favourable to any other species of improvement." At this time he received a letter from Mr. Pitt, dated Sept. 10th, in which he announced his intention "to make holidays for a month," and offered to pay a visit to Exbury on his road into the West:—"nothing new," he adds, "has happened that is remarkable, but every thing seems to be going on very well for us, both at home and abroad*, and to promise for the rest of this year, a very quiet recess, and what is still better, a very short session for the beginning of the next." In November, Addington is found actively promoting the cause of his friend Huntingford, who had been brought forward as a candidate for the wardenship of Winchester, then vacant. The attempt proved successful, and the result was thus briefly announced, by the party elected: "Your heart will rejoice; the Warden of Winchester is your most affectionate friend, G. I. H."

* This was a rather singular expression for the minister to use when, at that very time, the French were constructing a new form of government, which Wilkes wittily called a dæmonocracy.

The meeting of Parliament in 1790 took place on Thursday, the 21st of January. During the recess Burke had published his reflections;—an emanation of political wisdom, which opened the eyes of all thinking men to the real character of the French Revolution, and foretold, but too exactly, the horrors and calamities which it subsequently produced. His wonderful foresight, with reference to that subject, outstripped the conclusions even of minds mighty as his own. Nearly two years afterwards Mr. Pitt, of whom Addington used to say, he was the most sanguine man he ever knew, was still unconvinced of the magnitude of the danger from that cause: an assertion which the following anecdote will elucidate. In Sept. 1791, after Burke's breach with Fox, Pitt invited him for the first time to dine with him: Lord Grenville, Burke, Addington, and Pitt, constituted the party. After dinner Burke was earnestly representing the danger which threatened this country, from the contagion of French principles, when Pitt said, "Never fear, Mr. Burke: depend on it we shall go on as we are, until the day of judgment;"—"Very likely, Sir," replied Mr Burke, "it is the day of *no* judgment that I am afraid of." *

* This anecdote Lord Sidmouth was fond of relating in his old age; and the author is enabled to give the date of the transaction, from a letter written by the Speaker to his brother, Sept. 27th, 1791, in which the following passage occurs:—"We came from town last night. I dined in Downing Street on Saturday. *Lord Grenville and Burke made half of the party.* This it would be better not to mention, as, though there is nothing to tell, there would be much to conjecture." Mr. Burke also mentions this circumstance in a letter to his son, dated Sept. 26th, but does not say that the Speaker was present. He states also that he had met Pitt at dinner at Dundas's, at Wimbledon, a few days before.

Too surely, and too soon, for the happiness of mankind, did that fatal day of no judgment arrive; but in 1790, no one except Burke had openly proclaimed its approach. So evident, however, had it become to him, that in the debate upon the army estimates on the 9th February, symptoms of the grand schism, which subsequently burst asunder the ranks of Opposition, already appeared in a friendly though sharp skirmish between him and Mr. Fox.

The next important question which came before the House of Commons was an application of the Protestant Dissenters to be relieved from the operation of the two acts of the 13th and 25th of Charles II., commonly called the "Corporation and Test Acts." The fate of this motion, which had been intrusted to the able management of Mr. Fox, was exactly what might have been foreseen. The House evidently applied that gentleman's principle, "that we can only judge how far a man's opinions are safe from his actions," with fatal effect against his own clients. The writings of Doctors Priestley and Price were quoted; and numerous recent proceedings of Dissenters, most hostile both to Church and State, were brought forward in the debate by Mr. Burke and Mr. Pitt, from which it clearly appeared that some of the leading petitioners were already identified with the French revolutionists, who had recently overthrown their church, totally confiscated its revenues, and compelled the whole body of the clergy to seek safety in emigration. Such unequivocal evidence of the danger which would result from concession was sufficient to outweigh, in the judgment of practical men, any amount of abstract argument or theory; and we cannot, therefore,

wonder that the majority against the motion, which on former occasions had been comparatively small, should now have amounted to 190—the ayes being 104, and the noes 294. This question appears to have excited the greatest interest throughout the kingdom.

On Sunday morning, the 21st of March, the proceedings of the House of Commons were temporarily suspended, on account of the death of the venerable Dr. Addington, who was gathered to his fathers at the good old age of seventy-six, having survived exactly long enough to receive intelligence of the liberal and complimentary manner in which parliament had just provided for his son. As the business of the session was then at its height, and as the constitution has provided no remedy for the absence of the Speaker, whether from indisposition, or any other cause, to have waited until after the funeral would have interrupted, most inconveniently, the affairs of the nation. A respite, therefore, of two days, by the adjournment of the House for that period, was all that could be allowed to the Speaker's feelings on this occasion. The arrangement was communicated by Mr. Pitt in the following friendly terms:—

"Downing Street, Sunday night, March 21st.

"I have seen Mr. Hatsell, and, on considering the situation of the different bills depending, and the term of the recess, we think that *Wednesday* would be the best day to adjourn to. At the same time, if there should be any thing to make a later day more desirable to you, there will not be the least difficulty in putting it off.

"Ever most sincerely yours,

"W. PITT."

All that is related of Dr. Addington's last illness is, that "it was short, and entirely free from suffer-

ing; that his mind was to the last moment remarkably tranquil;" and that when he was told of the vote of the House respecting the Speaker's salary, he received the intelligence with parental pride and joy, observing to his younger son, Hiley, "This is only the beginning of that boy's career." The Speaker's first manifestation of filial grief and attachment appeared in a request forwarded to Mr. Pole Carew, "to send down to Reading," where Dr. Addington's death had taken place, "the sculptor who was most likely to preserve in marble those features which for so many years he was accustomed to regard with delight and reverence." On the next day he wrote respecting his father, to the same kind friend, in the following terms:—

"When I recollect his participation of all that rejoiced or grieved us — the goodness and kindness of his nature, and those other qualities which made him so beloved and respected — I feel that there is a blank in my happiness which cannot be supplied till we are restored to each other to part no more. Do not imagine that the impression made upon me is likely to endanger my health, or enervate my mind; but I know that I have lost a prop and a comfort, and am only thankful that I was sensible of their value before they were taken from me. On Wednesday I mean to be in town, and I shall certainly go to the House on that day. Ever yours, &c. &c.

"H. A."

In pursuance of the above resolution, the Speaker occupied the chair on the Wednesday, and also on the three following days; and thus, from the circumstances of the Doctor's death and burial both occurring on a Sunday, his son was enabled to be present at his last moments, and also to attend his funeral in

Oxfordshire, without occasioning any further interruption to the public business than during the two days from Monday evening to that of Wednesday. It was only, however, by a most painful effort that this stern adherence to the path of duty was persevered in; and the Speaker confessed to his brother, that on the Wednesday, "whilst in the House, he found himself entirely overpowered, though happily it produced no manifest appearances."*

On the 12th of June, the parliament, whose labours had extended to the unusual length of seven sessions, was dissolved by proclamation.† The important ques-

* Of the numerous letters received on this occasion one alone will be presented to the reader; and it is selected as well for the high talents and celebrity of the writer, as on account of the long and intimate friendship with which Lady Chatham had honoured the deceased.

"Burton Pynsent, March 24th.

"Though the advanced age of your good father, and his infirm health, had long prepared his friends for the melancholy event, yet it is impossible to be deprived of so valued and so excellent a person without deeply feeling the stroke. Whilst you deplore the unhappy circumstance, I hope a consolation will mix itself in your affliction, from the knowledge of his having enjoyed to the latest hour the respect and love due to his virtues, and the happiness which society derived from his humanity and ability. He will have many mourners, who will speak his just praise. There is one thing which must afford peculiar satisfaction to all interested for him, which is, that he lived long enough to see his son in possession of the highest honours, which, from their nature, must have been agreeable to his fondest wishes. I remain, &c. &c.

"HESTER CHATHAM."

† On the 28th of May, in this year, it became the Speaker's duty publicly to reprimand Major Scott, a member of parliament, for having published a statement relating to the trial of Mr. Hastings, which was considered disrespectful to the House. Before the public business commenced, the Speaker had observed Mr.

tion of re-election, which Addington mentions to his brother as a subject of severe disappointment "to those departed worthies, Tierney, M. Angelo Taylor, and Alderman Newnham," occasioned neither trouble nor expenditure to himself; on that, and on every subsequent occasion, he was re-elected without opposition. After that event, he went with his family to Brighton, where he remained during nearly the whole recess, expressing himself much delighted with the place. "The rides and walks," he writes to his brother, "particularly the former, are delightful. The turf, for many miles together, as level as that on Roundway Hill, and old ocean constantly in view, not to

Wilkes conferring with Major Scott; and he subsequently ascertained from a friend, who happened to be within hearing, that the subject of their conversation was as follows:—Wilkes. "I give you joy. I am glad to see you in full dress. It is an occasion on which a man should appear to the best advantage." Scott. "Joy! what do you mean? Why I am here to be reprimanded." Wilkes. "Exactly; and therefore I congratulate you. When the Speaker has finished, abuse them all confoundedly, for which you will be sent either to Newgate or the Tower, and then you may be member for Middlesex or Westminster, whichever you please." Mr. Adolphus, in his History of England, vol. vi. p. 164., bestows much commendation on the Speaker's address to Major Scott on this occasion. At some other time, Mr. Wilkes came up to the Speaker in the chair, and told him that he had a petition to present to the House from a set of the greatest scoundrels and miscreants upon earth: when called upon, however, shortly afterwards, to present it, he said, with the gravest face possible,—"Sir, I hold in my hand a petition from a most intelligent, independent, and enlightened body of men." On another occasion when there was much confusion in the House, the Speaker observing that his call of "Order, order!" was not attended to, especially by Mr. Wilkes, repeated the expression, coupling with it that gentleman's name; upon which Mr. Wilkes said very deliberately, "'Order! Mr. Wilkes?' that is a singular association. Wilkes and treason, and Wilkes and rebellion, have often been coupled together; but, Wilkes and order never."

mention the fish, the mutton, the poultry, and the port, all of which are excellent. I am very deep," he adds, "in the second Punic war, and must take my leave of you, as I am just setting out for Zama." In another letter he describes a dinner at the Pavilion, at which he had been commanded to give his attendance, as "very pleasant. There was the utmost ease and good humour, and the wine excellent, which approaches to tautology. The motion" (that Addington should resume the speakership) "which Phelips is to second, will probably be made by the Master of the Rolls, Pepper Arden." He here touches upon a question on which he appears, at this time, to have bestowed much anxious attention. Mr. Pitt had most kindly offered to propose him to the House as their Speaker; but Addington appears to have been somewhat doubtful as to the policy of such proceeding; and we find him, therefore, requesting the opinion of Mr. Hatsell, and Mr. Pole Carew, on the point. "Do you think," he asks the latter, "that the motion in my favour would come with impropriety from Pitt? The reasons on both sides will readily occur to you, and I only beg to be informed on which you feel that they preponderate." Mr. Carew's opinion has not been preserved; but Mr. Hatsell's was decidedly adverse. "If you ask my opinion," he says, "I think that the choice of the Speaker should not be on the motion of the minister. Indeed an invidious use might be made of it, to represent you as the friend of the minister rather than the choice of the House; although every one knows that let who will make the motion, you probably will have the unanimous approbation of all

parties." These reasons predominated; and in consequence, Mr. Pitt, in the following letter, kindly relinquished, for his friend's sake, an office which would have been highly gratifying to him.

"Dear Addington, Downing Street, Nov. 12th, 1790.

"The circumstances which you mention perfectly convince me that your decision is right, and the bringing the thing forward in the best way is of more importance than any thing else. I shall therefore relinquish a very agreeable task without regret. * * * I hope you continue to find people pleased with the result of our Spanish negotiation, but I shall be very glad at the same time to hear all the criticisms which you can pick up upon it. Hitherto, to say the truth, I have not met with any to put me much out of conceit with it. I am deep in some projects of finance, which I shall be very impatient to mention to you. I hope you will think them *bold, but not too bold*, and not quite so extravagant a flight as the line which Grey distinguished with that commendation. You will find me in this neighbourhood on your arrival, as I have found that it will be impossible for me to make my visit to Burton till Christmas. Ever sincerely yours,

"W. PITT."

During the whole summer and autumn great naval preparations had been making for an expected war with Spain; and Addington, writing from Brighton, regrets his inability to visit the fleet lying at Portsmouth under Admiral Barrington, which his friend, Colonel Mitford, "supposed was the most powerful one which had ever been assembled in one place." The determination manifested in these warlike proceedings effected the desired object of obtaining a suitable reparation from the court of Spain; and the King and parliament, on their assembling on the 25th of November, had the satisfaction of congratu-

lating each other on the successful result of Mr. Pitt's wise and spirited measures. On the meeting of the House, Addington was unanimously elected to the chair, on the motion of the Master of the Rolls, seconded by Mr. Phelips, member for Somersetshire. The first subject of importance which came before the House was, whether the impeachment of Warren Hastings had abated in consequence of the late dissolution of parliament. This question furnished the only occasion on which, as Lord Sidmouth believed, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were ever brought together in private life. They met at a consultation held in December, 1790, to consider, with reference to the trial of Mr. Hastings, whether an impeachment by the Commons was abated by a dissolution of parliament. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox agreed in thinking that it was not; and nothing could exceed the ease and cordiality of their manner towards each other on that occasion. This conference is alluded to in the following undated note from Mr. Burke to the Speaker; to which the latter has added, at the place designated by an asterisk, the words "Mr. Fox, &c."

"Mr. Burke presents his best respects to the Speaker. There has been no mistake as to the day. I [he] knew it to be Saturday, at twelve, when Mr. B. and the other gentlemen [*] will have the honour of attending him and Mr. Pitt.

"Friday morn."

The same question was publicly debated at great length on the 17th of December, and two following nights, and decided by a large majority in the negative, the Speaker declaring himself decidedly of that opinion. Allusion has been here made to this trans-

action chiefly for the purpose of introducing a constitutional remark, partly founded on the decision of the House on this occasion, which Lord Sidmouth made to Mr. Milnes Gaskell many years afterwards.

"Three great questions," he said, "have been carried in these later times against the prerogative of the crown. 1st, When the crown was prevented from extending pardon in cases of impeachment. 2d, When it was decided, in 1790, that an impeachment does not determine by the dissolution of parliament. 3d, When it was carried by Pitt, in opposition to the Whigs of that day, that on the temporary suspension of royal authority the power of selecting a regent was vested in the two Houses of Lords and Commons. The second of these acts was resisted in both Houses, but it was held by parliament that after the King had been declared incapable of extending pardon in cases of impeachment, he ought not to be empowered to delay or annul it."

The Speaker, during the Christmas recess, took possession of Woodley, a country residence pleasantly situated in the parish of Sonning, near Reading, which he had recently purchased, and where he continued to pass the parliamentary vacations in the most enviable state of domestic enjoyment, until, many years afterwards, the cares of government obliged him to exchange it for a residence nearer the metropolis. In this peaceful retreat, surrounded by his own and his brother's family, he concluded the, to him, most eventful year of 1790.

The 2d of February, 1791, beheld the Speaker again seated in the chair of laborious attention, at the commencement of a session rendered, by the circumstances of a neighbouring kingdom, most arduous and important. There is nothing more contagious

than national delinquency; and already the revolutionary frenzy, and atrocious demoralization of the French democrats, were exciting a corresponding sympathy, and desire of imitation, amongst congenial spirits in this country, notwithstanding the beautiful example of the crown, the prophetic genius of Mr. Burke, and the high principles of religion and loyalty which happily pervaded the bulk of the nation. Early in this year Thomas Paine, in reply to Burke's Reflections, published his pestilent work, the Age of Reason, which in June "had reached to the sixth edition." Huntingford, writing of it in April, before "it had yet fallen in his way," considered that it would "be wise and politic not to raise such a man into consequence by noticing his book." This opinion, however, was totally changed after he had read "the scurrilous though subtle work;" and on the 3d of June we find him earnestly imploring the Speaker to devote a few hours to the friendly task of reading and commenting upon an answer which he had prepared to Paine. He mentions several other replies which had been advertised; but all these, and his own also, were speedily eclipsed by Bishop Watson's Apology, which successfully vindicated the cause of insulted Christianity from the rude attacks of an ignorant caviller and daring blasphemer. It is not probable that the Speaker could devote much time to the perusal or correction of his friend's performances; but in a letter on this subject which he shortly afterwards addressed to Mr. Pole Carew, he shrewdly, and not perhaps quite erroneously, pointed to the supineness of some of the clergy as one of the *causes* of the evil, and to their awakening out of their sleep as its surest *remedy*.

"The church," he says, "is certainly an *honest* drone; but if she does not stir herself very soon, the wasps of the conventicle are likely to be too much for her; and I really think that the non-residence and remissness in other respects of our parish clergy facilitate, more than any other cause, the progress of opinions which may be more effectually resisted by a zealous and regular performance of the clerical duties than by all the arguments that can be furnished by the press. I wish it could be truly said of the church as it was of an individual by Cowper:—

> 'Assail'd by scandal and the tongue of strife,
> His only answer was a blameless life.'"

Much interest was felt at this time in England at the resumption of hostilities in India against the Mysore empire under Tippoo Sultan, who had succeeded not only to the power of his father, Hyder, but also to his enmity to the British name. Lord Cornwallis, finding hostilities inevitable, placed himself at the head of the army, and resolved at once to carry the war to the gates of Seringapatam. A letter from Mr. Pitt, dated June 21st, enclosing some information from India, which had reached England indirectly, through the British agents at Bussora, manifests the anxiety felt by the government on that subject; and it is to be inferred from other letters found in the general correspondence of this year, that it was not wholly on account of our position in regard to Russia, but partly in consequence of the state of affairs in the East, that a large fleet, under Lord Hood, was maintained all the summer at Portsmouth in a state of perfect equipment—"the armament," as the Speaker

termed it, not having been disbanded until the beginning of September. Allusion is here made to Lord Cornwallis's proceedings, for the purpose of introducing part of a letter, dated Camp, near Bangalore, August 27th, 1791, and addressed to the Speaker by his schoolfellow John Grattan, then lieutenant-colonel in the force under his Lordship's command, containing a remark respecting the probable fate of Tippoo, which was long remembered by the party to whom it was addressed. "Six months must bring us to the end of things by one of two roads. Tippoo, driven into the toils, will either lower his spirit with his fortunes, and sacrifice for peace; or in a desperate agony, end at once his empire and his existence in the ruins of Seringapatam." It is a singular fact, that both alternatives of this prediction were strictly fulfilled. On the 26th February, 1792, one day only before the completion of the six months, Tippoo, driven into the toils, did lower his spirit with his fortunes, and sacrificed half his kingdom for peace; and on the 4th of May, 1799, in desperate agony, ended at once his empire and his existence on the ramparts of Seringapatam. It was on the sixth of May in this year, on the committee upon the Quebec Bill, that the celebrated difference occurred between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, by which a friendship of twenty-five years' standing was severed for ever. The House being in committee, the Speaker was not in the chair, otherwise, possibly, some of the interruptions and irregularities which tended to exasperate the disputants might not have taken place. One fact alone will here be stated, which does not appear to have been mentioned elsewhere. Whenever Burke alluded in his speech to the French

Revolution, he was immediately called to order by one or other of his former associates. These continual interruptions he bore with tolerable composure as long as they proceeded from Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, and other leaders; but when the lesser lights of the party ventured to treat him in the same manner, he could not help exclaiming, with King Lear, as he looked disdainfully at the noisy pack:—

> "The little dogs and all, Tray, Blanch, and Sweetheart,
> See—they bark at me."*

That Burke's abhorrence of the French revolutionary principles was not ill founded, or his dread of their introduction into England premature, appears from the facts alluded to in a letter written by the Speaker to his brother, on the 27th of June, in which he mentions the unsuccessful attempt of the King and royal family to escape from France:—"Yesterday was a day of anxious suspense, which some intelligence just received from France has terminated most unpleasantly. Before this reaches you, you will have heard that the miserable fugitives were stopped only eighteen miles short of a place of safety. The packet, which is just returned, was not allowed to land her passengers. What has recently passed will not

* Painful as was this final separation from his political friend and pupil, Mr. Burke experienced a sensation of relief on being delivered from his state of suspense, which he expressed by the following apposite quotation:—

> "Æneas celsâ in puppi, jam certus eundi,
> Carpebat somnos."

It must therefore have been prior to this period, that one evening, in the House, he said to the Speaker, "I am not well, Speaker. I eat too much, I drink too much, and I sleep very little."

heighten the favour of the public towards the festival at the Crown and Anchor on the 14th of July."

The progress of evil in that distracted nation is further traced in a letter of the 5th of October, from Mr. Hatsell, who says:—

"Mr. Newton Barton is still at Paris, and was present at the ceremony of the King's acceptation. He walked close to the King on his return from the assembly to the palace. From a democrat, that he went over, what he has seen and heard has made him a violent aristocrat. Lord Palmerston and Windham have been there great part of the summer. * * * At Rouen, on his way to Paris, N. B. was reprimanded for asking whose that gentilhomme's carriage was? The answer was, 'We know no such character here: we are all equal.' I expect with impatience the discussion between l'Abbé Sièyes and Paine, on the comparative advantages of monarchy and oligarchy. In the mean time we must read the letter from the old Whigs, which comes out of Burke's school, planned by Richard, but completed and sent forth by Edmund."

Early in this session a message was brought from the King to parliament, stating that, to give weight to his negotiations for effecting a pacification between Russia and the Porte, he had felt it necessary to make some augmentation of his naval forces. This intended measure encountered a rude shock from the opposition in both Houses. The minister's majority, indeed, was so much reduced that he found it advisable to lower his tone in the further discussions with Russia; and from that moment, it was observed, Great Britain lost all weight in the northern balance of power. Mr. Dundas, writing to the Speaker, on the 7th of August, from Hollwood, alludes to this disappointment in the following words:—

"Lord Grenville, Pitt, and I are here. We are busy, and not without good hopes of being able to put all things in such shape before we meet under your authority as will restore us to full confidence, and make our adversaries feel that all their expectations derived from the occurrence of last spring will totally fail them, and they must return to their former state of defeat and despondency."

It was during the autumn of this year that, as has already been stated in a note, the Speaker met Mr. Burke at dinner at Mr. Pitt's house in town. By this time the awful events which that great man's wonderful prescience had long before developed were rapidly approaching their fulfilment; and even Mr. Pitt's sanguine temperament could not much longer disguise from himself the difficulties in which our unfortunate approximation to a most mischievous neighbour was likely to involve the nation.

Under such gloomy anticipations of impending evil did the Speaker enter upon the new year. The parliament met on the 31st of January, but the correspondence contains no particular allusion to its proceedings. In the spring of this year an association was formed under the denomination of "The Friends of the People," which, in addition to numerous members of the corresponding committee of the revolutionary society, comprised in its ranks twenty-eight opposition members of the House of Commons, including Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan, but not Mr. Fox. The declared object of this association was to obtain a parliamentary reform, by means of a more equal representation of the people, and a more frequent exercise of the right of election; and on the 30th of April, Mr. Grey, acting as the chairman, gave notice in parliament that in the fol-

lowing session he should submit a motion relative to the representation of the people in that House. This intention was most strongly deprecated, both by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke, who pointed out in such forcible terms its extreme mischief and danger, under existing circumstances, that they carried almost the whole House with them, and induced five of the twenty-eight members already alluded to to take the earliest opportunity to withdraw their names from the association. Mr. Grey did not find his proposition much more popular without doors; and under such discouragements, after making an equally unsuccessful attempt in the following season, he maintained in parliament a comparative silence on the question for nearly forty years; from which circumstance Lord Sidmouth thought it not unreasonable to infer, that he (Mr. Grey) could not really have expected much practical benefit to result from the measure. On the afternoon of the day on which this notice was given, Mr. Pitt entered the Speaker's room, and asked him whether he would allow Mr. Grey to make a speech on the occasion. He replied, that in strictness it was not allowable to make a speech on merely giving notice of a motion; but that he considered it to be the spirit of his duty to consult the wishes of the House, and therefore if the House showed a desire to hear, he should not interfere to stop the speaking. Mr. Pitt said he was so unwell, that at all events he could take no part. Soon after he had gone out, Dundas entered, and on being told what had passed, said, "What! Pitt not speak? but he *must* speak;" and accordingly Mr. Pitt *did* make a speech which has been considered one of the best he ever made.

During this summer, the conduct of the Lord Chancellor Thurlow induced Mr. Pitt to insist on his dismissal, and amongst the negotiations incident on this removal, was one for the admission to office of the Portland party, *i.e.* that portion of the Whigs which, under the Duke of Portland, had sided with Mr. Burke in his difference with Mr. Fox. It was intended that Mr. Fox himself should be included, but he resolutely declined, unless Mr. Pitt would previously resign the premiership; a proposal which, of course, put an end to the whole arrangement. To this occasion, however, an anecdote of Lord Sidmouth respecting Mr. Burke may probably be referred. Mr. Pitt was negotiating with Mr. Burke for the accession of the Duke of Portland and his friends to the government, and in speaking of terms of adjustment with France, he observed that they ought to be founded on the basis of indemnity for the past and security for the future. On this Mr. Burke, who had no relish for any such arrangement, drew himself up, and pompously said, "Sir, I am authorised by the Duke of Portland to state, that he abhors indemnity, and detests security."

On the 17th of February, Mr. Pitt opened the budget with a very satisfactory description of the flourishing state of the finances, which admitted of the remission of several objectionable taxes. His speech was much admired, and elicited the praises even of Mr. Fox; but whether this was the occasion to which Lord Sidmouth alluded in the following observation, cannot now be ascertained: "Pitt once got up the budget at Lord Arden's in two hours, after dinner." Parliament was prorogued by the King in

person on the 15th of June, but not before the debates in both Houses on the proposed addresses of thanks to his Majesty for issuing his royal proclamation against seditious doctrines, had afforded the Duke of Portland, Earl Spencer, Lords Rawdon, Stormont, and North, Mr. Windham, Mr. Anstruther, and others, an opportunity of expressing their full approbation of the course which his Majesty had been advised to pursue.

The death of the Earl of Guildford having placed the wardenship of the Cinque Ports at the disposal of the crown, his Majesty, in the kindest manner, conferred it on Mr. Pitt, who, on the 9th of August, hastened to communicate the happy tidings to his friend the Speaker, in the following words: — "Burton Pynsent, August 9th, 1792. You will, perhaps, have heard already, at least, you will not be sorry to hear, that immediately on Lord Guildford's death the King has written to me, expressing, in the most gracious terms, his desire that I should succeed to the wardenship of the Cinque Ports. In the way in which the offer comes, nothing can be more gratifying; and, under all the circumstances, I have had no hesitation in accepting it. I have not time to lengthen my letter. Yours ever,

"W. PITT."

In the following month the Speaker took his family to Ramsgate, from whence, on the 22d of September, he rode over to Walmer Castle to pass a day or two with the new warden, on his taking possession of his military appointment. This visit supplied the materials of the following anecdote: — Mr. Pitt had been invited by the corporation of Canterbury to

dine with them; and as the time fixed upon happened to coincide with the Speaker's visit, Mr. Pitt requested him to accompany him to the entertainment, which he accordingly did. It will readily be imagined, that at a period of such intense political excitement, a great difference of opinion respecting the policy pursued by the prime minister prevailed between the civic authorities assembled within the town hall and the populace collected outside; so that when the minister and his friend at length left the festive board, and entered the carriage which was to convey them to Sittingbourne, they encountered certain unequivocal marks of disapprobation. "A pretty story," said Mr. Pitt, "will this make in the papers. The Minister and the Speaker dined with the corporation of Canterbury, got very d—k, and were hissed out of the town." "The Morning Chronicle, however," Lord Sidmouth added, "acted more leniently. It only stated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was observed, in walking to his carriage, to oscillate like his own bills."

In compliance with an intention to record in this work any indications contained in the correspondence of the advance of intellect beyond the age, reference will here be made to a very different subject, in order to introduce the copy of a despatch from the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Lieutenant-General Simcoe, to Mr. Secretary Dundas, which the former forwarded to the Speaker. Those who are conversant with the present state and prospects of the church in Upper Canada, will be surprised to find developed in this document of the last century the same sound principles of ecclesiastical polity which we are now

attempting to introduce into our foreign dependencies, and which, if they had been more fully established fifty years ago, as suggested by this enlightened soldier, would now probably be producing the ripened fruits of righteousness in that important colony.

"Niagara, Nov. 6th, 1792.

"I cannot omit this opportunity of most anxiously requesting the attention of his Majesty's ministers to the ecclesiastical state of this province. I need not observe, Sir, that the best security that all just government has for existence is founded on the morality of the people, and that such morality has no true basis but when placed upon religious principles. Hence I have always been extremely anxious that the Church of England should be essentially established in Upper Canada; and I must be permitted to say, Sir, that I received the greatest satisfaction from your expression that you did not think the government complete without a Protestant bishop, as I conceive such an institution necessary to the support of the experiment now making, namely, whether or not the British government can maintain itself by its own authority in this distant part of the world. I beg to observe, Sir, that, by the absence of the episcopal function, there is no source in this province whence a Protestant clergy can be derived; for, on the one hand, the distance and situation of Nova Scotia render it even less practicable that any candidate for ordination should have recourse to the bishop of that diocese, than to those of England or Ireland; whilst, on the other, persons ordained by the bishops in the United States are, by act of parliament, incapacitated from performing any duty in Upper Canada. But, Sir, even this privation of the offices, functions, and benefits of episcopacy, is not in itself of so great political importance as the opportunity which is thereby afforded for the introduction of all descriptions of sectaries, many of whom are hostile, and none congenial, to the British constitution. I am aware of the necessity of guarding against expense, yet I consider that it would be the worst economy to lose the great opportunity which is now afforded of conforming the character

temper, and manners of the people of this infant colony to British habits and principles; and this, I think, may be done at comparatively little expense. Our colonists draw their origin from the Church of England, and are nearer to it in their religious belief and customs than they are to any other denomination of Christians. The state of poverty in which they must for some time remain after their emigration will naturally prevent them from the possibility of supporting their ministers by public subscriptions; in the mean while, the government has it in its power immediately to provide for any Protestant clergyman in the separate townships by giving him a reasonable landed property, in perpetuity for himself and family, and intrusting him with the care of that seventh which is to be reserved for the Protestant clergy. Under these circumstances it is probable that the sons of respectable settlers would offer themselves for ordination; and, though they might not, in the first instance, have the learning of the European clergy, their habits and morals might as essentially promote the interest of the community. It is by these means, Sir, that the influence of the Protestant clergy may extend and increase with the rapid growth and value of those lands which are reserved for their maintenance, and which, without a due attention being paid in this respect, will naturally be considered by the people at large as detrimental to the colony, and may, at no very distant period of time, become a temptation to those who shall be hostile to the union of Upper Canada with Great Britain."*

* The Speaker's reply to General Simcoe shows that he entertained to the fullest extent the same enlightened views. "A proper establishment," he observed, "for the clergy in every part of the British dominions, in Europe and America, is, I am thoroughly persuaded, indispensably requisite, not only for its well-being, but for its preservation." The following extract from a letter, which General Simcoe addressed to the Duke of Kent in 1801, shows that he still entertained in every respect the sentiments he has here expressed: — "The minister, Mr. Addington, I not only esteem to be a true friend to the constitution, but I know him to be a religious and moral man. I certainly, therefore, should act under him with great confidence in my view of laying solidly

From the above judicious recommendation of episcopacy as the only foundation of a stable and prosperous government, we turn with shame and sorrow to contemplate a people who had impiously renounced the blessings of religion, and denied the existence of a God. France had now deposed and plundered her bishops, and other venerable ministers of Christianity; and from that moment, as if by the judicial sentence of Divine Providence, revolution hastened her headlong career, and anarchy, confusion, murder, and rapine, spread with accelerated velocity over the length and breadth of the land. Those members of the devoted sacerdotal order who escaped the guillotine or the massacre, hastened into an exile, to most of them interminable; and England, in the course of this summer and autumn, became inundated with these unhappy victims of republican tyranny, to whom she generously extended a cordial and Christian welcome. On this subject the good warden of Winchester gave vent to his feelings in the following terms: — "I cannot consider the condition of these miserable exiles without reflecting on the dire consequences which have ensued to France, from the total disregard of religious principle. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Hume have been blasting mildews and baneful curses to the happiness of society. The legislators of France have been their disciples, and woeful experience has shown us what may be feared where infidelity actuates the spring of public law."

the foundations of religion and morality in Canada, without which arts and arms are of no value. I have heretofore had much conversation with him on this object, which elevates my mind in the very contemplation."

But whilst every breeze which blew from France brought over only the accents of despair, Addington's sanguine mind still performed the offices of hope. Writing to his brother at Cheltenham, on the 9th of September, he observes: —

"What a scene of carnage was exhibited at Paris on Sunday last, whilst you were jogging securely to the seat of dulness and the muses! Verdun is taken — that we are sure of; and the Duke of Brunswick will soon strike a stroke, which, as Lord Chatham said, will resound through the universe.

'France shall perish — write that word
In the blood that she has spilt:
Perish, hopeless and abhorr'd,
Deep in ruin, as in guilt!'

"It is necessary to mark the 'campos ubi Troja fuit,' as a tremendous and everlasting lesson to the world. I still, however, have hopes that Burke's allusion will hold good, and that the bulk of the nation will, like madmen, be cured when they have been subdued. Of this there were symptoms, I find, at Longwy after it was captured, and I dare say it will be the case every where else, except at the head-quarters of anarchy and atheism, if there is a judicious distribution, after victory, of punishment and forgiveness."

None, unhappily, of these favourable predictions were fated to be realised. The advance of the combined Austrian and Prussian army under the Duke of Brunswick, on which the hopes of the nations reposed, as likely to alter the destinies of France and of Europe, seemed to have been undertaken only that it might be followed by a most disgraceful and unexpected retreat. This first triumph in arms of the infant republic, naturally excited the demon of revolution to fresh atrocities, and precipitated the murder of the King. Under these circumstances, the meeting

of the British parliament was anxiously expected by all parties. The Speaker, writing to Mr. Pole Carew, on the 5th of December, observes; — "I conclude we shall soon meet, in consequence of the strange situation of affairs both at home and abroad. With respect to the former, I am much more at ease, and as to the latter, I am not without hopes that the improbability of internal commotion here may be the means of averting from us the calamity of foreign war. 'Quod procul a nobis!'"

The expected meeting of parliament took place on the 13th of December; and in the speech from the throne, his Majesty declared that in consequence of seditious practices and a spirit of tumult and disorder which had appeared in some parts of the kingdom, as well as of increasing indications manifested by France of an intention to disregard the rights of neutral nations, he had thought it advisable to embody a part of the militia, and also to make some augmentation of his naval and military force. These measures, Mr. Fox, who, strange to say, did not yet perceive, or would not acknowledge, the dangers threatening on the side of France, and who still retained his partiality for that country, reprobated in the severest terms; and as Mr. Pitt was necessarily absent, having vacated his seat by the acceptance of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, he was triumphantly answered by two of his former associates, Mr. Burke and Mr. Windham. Meanwhile the wheels of the deadly guillotine, crimsoned with the blood of mangled victims, rolled on in their appalling course, and the greatest apprehensions were felt for the life of the deposed and imprisoned monarch. The anxiety manifested in parliament on this

subject was highly honourable to the party leaders on both sides of the House. Casting aside their differences, they earnestly deliberated on the means best calculated to restore a maddened nation to the guidance of reason, justice, moderation, and humanity, and at length came to the conclusion that, under the circumstances, no step could then be taken in this country, which was not more likely to accelerate than to prevent the dreaded catastrophe. The parliament, therefore, relinquishing that object, proceeded to pass a bill for the better regulation and control of aliens and foreigners resorting to this country, a measure which, though itself alien to the principles of the constitution, the necessity of the times rendered indispensable. It was on the second reading of this bill on the 28th of December, that Mr. Burke enacted that celebrated dagger scene, which, as it has been described in so many previous publications, certainly would not be referred to in this, had not the circumstance of the Speaker being present in the chair, and his vivid recollection of what passed on the occasion, enabled him to add a few particulars which, it is believed, have never before appeared in print. The following are the words in which Lord Sidmouth used to relate this anecdote to his friends: — "When Burke, after only a few preliminary remarks, the House being totally unprepared, fumbled in his bosom, and suddenly drew out the dagger and threw it on the floor, his extravagant gesture excited a general disposition to titter, by which most men would have been disconcerted; but he, observing he had failed of making the intended impression, immediately collected himself for an effort, and by a few

brilliant sentences at once recalled the seriousness of the House. 'Let us,' said he, 'keep French principles from our heads, and French daggers from our hearts; let us preserve all our blandishments in life, and all our consolations in death, all the blessings of time, and all the hopes of eternity.'" * Nothing further of importance occurred in parliament before the Christmas recess. The whole nation appeared paralysed; watching in awful suspense the convulsive ravings of its maniac neighbour, and trembling lest some indiscreet movement on this side of the water should precipitate consequences which might yet, by forbearance, be averted. This feeling was shared by one who was anxiously watching the progress of the unhappy King's simulated trial then proceeding at Paris, and who thus expressed it to the Speaker, in a letter written on the spot:—

Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart. to the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

"My dear Sir, De la Convention, 31st Dec., 1792.

"I forwarded this morning some interesting papers to you, and wrote very fully to Windham. I will beg you to ask him for my letter. It is an interesting moment; but I think there is time to effect much good within the next month. There is scarce a doubt but the sentence of the King will be sent to the 83d department. It will be late this week

* It appears from a very able and interesting statement appended by the present Earl of Eldon to his grandfather's life (vol. i. p. 218.), that the dagger had been sent from France to a manufacturer at Birmingham, with an order for a large number to be made like it, and that Mr. Burke had only received it that same day from Sir James Bland Burgess, on his way down to the House. The scene, therefore, could not have been prepared.

(as Monsr. Egalité tells me) before the Convention will come to any decision. *Temperate measures on our side the water* will do, I am persuaded, all we wish; and be assured that a rupture will precipitate the fate of the King, *who otherwise, I am sure, is safe.* But I beg to refer you to my letter to Windham. Excuse my scrawl. I write in extreme haste, in the huissier's office, who has franked on my papers to you.

"Yours, dear Sir, most truly,

"J. C. H."

Alas! how chimerical the idea that any human means could then have rescued the doomed life of the gentlest and most benevolent of men from the millions who were thirsting for his blood.

Thus, amidst slender hopes and gigantic apprehensions, set the year 1792. That appalling and portentous calm reigned, which almost invariably precedes the storm. Men's hearts seemed failing them for fear: they saw a new element forming, capable apparently of uprooting the foundations both of religion and civil society; and they awaited the result in silence and astonishment—fit preludes to the twenty years of desolating war which were about to steep the whole world in blood.

CHAPTER V.

1793, 1794.

Murder of the King of France. Declaration of War against England by France. The Speaker's Friendship with Captain Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth, and with Lord Mornington. Letters from the latter — Mr. Pitt and others. Offer of Secretaryship of State to the Speaker. Letters from Dr. Huntingford and Sir John Mitford on the Subject. Progress of the War. Meeting of Parliament. Lord Howe's Victory. Anecdote of Sir Alan Gardner. Duke of Portland and his Party accept Office. Anecdote of Mr. Burke. Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. Lord Camden. Lord Fitzwilliam. Letters from Lord Mornington and Mr. Pitt. Loss of British Troops in colonial Warfare. Letters from the Speaker — the Rev. Thomas Le Mesurier — Mr. Powys. Trials of Horne, Tooke, &c. Birth of the present Viscount Sidmouth. Letter from the Speaker to his Brother.

THE blow which fell on the 21st January, 1793, occasioned a vibration in every honest heart in England. The dire iniquity excited universal indignation, and united the whole nation in promoting those measures which were necessary to "keep French principles from their heads, and French daggers from their hearts." On the 28th of January, Mr. Secretary Dundas presented a message to the House of Commons, from the King, stating, that in consequence of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris, his Majesty had commanded M. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the King of France, to quit

England, and that his Majesty considered it indispensable to make a further augmentation of his forces, both by sea and land. This was opposed by Mr. Fox, whose love of peace, and conviction that it might yet be preserved by negotiation, were still so powerful, that he proceeded even to make a substantive motion to that effect. But however warlike may have been the propensities of the minister, and how pacific soever those of his antagonist, the French National Convention anticipated both, and left them no further option, by unexpectedly declaring war against Great Britain on the first of February. When a message from the King to the above effect was presented to parliament on the 11th, the unanimity which, with one or two exceptions, pervaded both Houses, plainly indicated the national feeling as regarded the impossibility of remaining at peace with the existing French government; and England from that moment resounded with the notes of warfare. On the 18th February, indeed, Mr. Fox brought forward five resolutions condemnatory of the war, and of the principles on which it was undertaken; but he now stood almost alone and unsupported. Most of those great Whig leaders, who had formerly fought by his side, were now ranged in the ranks of his opponent; and although at the commencement of the revolution they had all, with one splendid exception, approved of it, they now with common assent condemned it, as fraught with tyranny and oppression. The situation of the party at this period was some time afterwards aptly described by Mr. Horne Tooke, when on his trial for high treason. "We all," he said, "entered the revolutionary coach together at

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Reading, but one got out at Maidenhead, another at Slough, a third at Hounslow, and a fourth at Brentford; it was my misfortune, my Lord," as it also was Mr. Fox's, "to go on to London."

On the 29th of June in this year, the Speaker first became acquainted with a congenial spirit, who, in the service of his King and country, subsequently reached the same elevation as himself, though by a different road; and with whom he then commenced an intimacy which was ripened by favourable circumstances into the closest friendship, and was at length terminated by death alone, after a period of forty years. At the levee on that day, Capt. Edward Pellew, afterwards Viscount Exmouth, received the honour of knighthood, for capturing the French frigate Cleopatra, in the first equal single combat of the war, and for tearing from her brow the boasted cap of liberty; the earliest trophy bearing that ill-used name which had yet greeted the eyes of Englishmen. Addington, as has already been shown in this work, was extremely partial to the navy and naval men; and on this occasion he was so pleased with the appearance of the successful captain, fresh from his action fought only eleven days before, that he most kindly sought his acquaintance, which, it will readily be supposed, was not withheld. Such was the origin of a friendship, to which he who now records the circumstance gratefully acknowledges that he owes, under Providence, not only much of the happiness and prosperity of his life, but also the honourable privilege of assisting to give to the world the life and correspondence of a most honest and upright statesman. The close intercourse, however, between these "concordes animæ" did not immedi-

ately commence. It was scarcely possible, indeed, that it should; for one of them, during the whole war, was pursuing the enemies of his country in every sea, whilst the other was scarcely less occupied by his duties at home. But when peace arrived, and Sir Edward Pellew had taken his seat in parliament for the borough of Barnstaple, he became a most zealous supporter of his friend's administration. A correspondence then commenced between the parties, which flowed on in an uninterrupted course until the death of Lord Exmouth in 1833, when it was found that he had treasured up above 150 letters, addressed to him by Lord Sidmouth, who, in return, had preserved a still larger number of those received from his friend, which will, it is hoped, become hereafter a source of interest to the reader. Meanwhile it is necessary to notice the acquaintance, which commenced fourteen years before, between Addington and Lord Mornington in the rostrum at Oxford, and which, as appears from the correspondence, ripened about this period into a closer intimacy. In his earliest letter to his friend, dated August 26th, 1793, Lord Mornington mentions his continued detention at Brighton, by the state of his "miserable nerves," which were, however, deriving much benefit from sea bathing. His Lordship then alludes to a murderous decree * which the wholesale dealers in blood

* On the motion of one Garnier, it was decreed by a solemn resolution of the Convention, that "Mr. Pitt was an enemy of the human race." The same miscreant then moved that "every man had a right to assassinate him;" but this motion was not carried. An edict, however, was issued about this time by Robespierre, that no quarter should be granted to the English; which was not repealed until after the death of the tyrant.

at Paris had recently issued against the life of Mr. Pitt.

"The decree," he says, "of the dogs of hell against Pitt is the consummation of *his* glory and of *their* infamy. But, I own, I dread their venom: they are capable of encouraging any attempt, however base and inhuman; and I am afraid they might find hands to execute their projects even in this country. The very idea is enough to make one tremble; and it is the more horrid because it is impossible, by any precaution, to ward off such a blow. We must trust to Pitt's fortune, and to that protection which must attend him against such wickedness.

"Si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
Usquam justitiæ est."

The camp at this place is really worth seeing, if you could make it your way into Devonshire. The Berkshire make a great figure under Lt. Col. Powney. Believe me, my dear Sir, ever yours, most faithfully and sincerely,

"MORNINGTON."

In the following November his Lordship paid a visit to the Speaker at Woodley. His mind appears to have been at this time in that restless, dissatisfied state, which probably is inseparable from a grand and commanding genius like his, when searching in vain for a field of exertion worthy of its energies. As the Speaker said to him, in reply to his complaints, "You want a wider sphere; you are dying of the cramp." To one in such a frame, communion with so sanguine and cheering a spirit as Addington's must have proved peculiarly soothing; and indeed the latter, in letters written during Lord Mornington's present visit to him, particularly mentions the happiness resulting from it to all parties. The parliament was prorogued this year on the 21st of June; after which

event, the Speaker removed with his family to Woodley, where he passed the greater part of the summer and autumn. He there received visits from Lord Bayham, Mr. Pitt, Lord Mornington, and various other friends. Lord Bayham wrote afterwards to inform him that "the communication with Mr. Pitt, which he" (the Speaker) "had so zealously interested himself in advising and procuring, had terminated most satisfactorily to himself, and that Mr. Pitt had told him he knew no one whom he should prefer sending to Ireland in a public capacity to himself. It is probable, therefore," he adds, "that I may be launched into the world as a public man; and if I have any success, I shall attribute my good fortune to the advice and encouragement I have received from you."

The next letter, in order of time, is the following from the prime minister:—

"Downing Street, July 31st.

"On arriving in town to-day, I found the news of the surrender of Valenciennes, and desired it to be immediately sent to you by a messenger, who I hope may arrive at a seasonable hour. I find I cannot make my visit to Woodley sooner than next Sunday; but unless something very unforeseen arises, I will be with you by four on that day, and hope to stay till Wednesday morning. Ever yours,

"W. PITT."

Mr. Pitt here mentions a practice which he frequently pursued during the war, of sending early intelligence of great successes to the Speaker, who used to announce the good news to the neighbourhood by lighting up his house. On one of these occasions, a friend, who was travelling by the coach

from Bath, heard the coachman say, "I am certain good news have been received, for there's the Speaker's house all in a blaze."

Extracts from three other letters, written by Mr. Pitt in the course of this autumn, will here be introduced, not so much for the importance of their contents, as to show the entire confidence which their illustrious writer reposed in his friend on all occasions. In the first, dated Downing Street, September 21st, he says, — "There occurs nothing on which I can fairly state that there is any very material reason for my wishing to see you; but it would certainly be a great pleasure to me to talk things over, if you could come without inconvenience; and so much has passed since we met, that I think you must be as well inclined to a prose as myself. I shall certainly not be absent for more than half a day at a time for the next three weeks, and can give you a bed here, if it will be any convenience. Sir J. Murray is just come over for a few days. Since we heard last, the French have retreated, after a slight action at Menin, in which Beaulieu gained an advantage. The Prince of Coburg is returning to form immediately the siege of Maubeuge; and in the mean time our army must probably remain on the defensive. There are further accounts to-day from Lord Hood, of the 1st September. The day before, on an advanced party of the enemy approaching Toulon, a detachment of 600 British and Spanish, commanded by Captain Elphinstone, sallied out and attacked them, drove them from an important post, and took some cannon. The Gazette will be too late for the post."

In the next letter, dated Downing Street, Oct. 9th,

Mr. Pitt, after acknowledging a letter from the Speaker, proceeds as follows:—

"I cannot bring myself to go many miles from town till I hear of the capture of Maubeuge, which I believe will be very soon. If the account should reach us before next Tuesday, and all goes well in the interval, I shall probably go for a few days to Walmer, in order to attend a harbour session at Dover. After that, I hope I may accomplish a visit to Woodley, especially if, in spite of your advice, we should not call parliament till after Christmas. The prevailing opinion here is strongly against meeting sooner, and it turns out that we shall be under no difficulty for money in the interval. If attempts to make any bad impression in the country seem likely to be successful, we certainly must meet at all events; but in every other view it is very material to avoid it.

"Yours ever, "W. PITT."

Writing again on the 19th of October, he proposes that the Speaker should dine with him at Hollwood on the Monday following; and then proceeds:—"But should this scheme be impossible, pray let me know whether you can stay and dine here on Tuesday. If both these are out of the question, I will certainly be in town to meet you on Monday; and shall hope, in that case, to see you here at dinner. It will be no real inconvenience to me to remain in town, and I am much bent upon not missing you. A line from you, which will be here by Monday's post, will determine my motions."

In introduction of the next letter, from the Warden of Winchester, dated Nov. 14th, it is necessary to premise, that a subject of deliberation was placed at this time before the Speaker, not unlike the one to which eight years afterwards he reluctantly yielded his concurrence. It was reported,—and it

appears with truth, since he obviously consulted Huntingford on the subject,—that he was offered the secretaryship of state, then held by Mr. Dundas. His own opinion coinciding with the requested opinion of the warden, and the advice, voluntarily given, of Sir John Mitford, he declined the offer; but the judicious sentiments of his two friendly counsellors are deemed worthy of the reader's attention, especially since, *apparently*, he acted contrary to them when he accepted the premiership in 1801. In that instance, however, he only yielded to an imperious sense of duty, to which, in his opinion, whenever his King and country were concerned, every consideration of interest or of inclination ought immediately to give place. — "I am greatly obliged," the warden observed, "by the kind communication of what so nearly concerns yourself. Those who value you as they ought cannot for your own sake, though they would for that of the public, wish to remove you from the very high, honourable, and important station to which the united voice of the Commons has called you. I believe you once heard from me what Mr. Speaker Cornwall said of his office,—'It is laborious, but not so painful as being forced to defend measures for which I was not properly responsible, and which I did not approve!' Every one whose duty is such that he cannot in himself be 'sui juris,' and 'totus teres atque rotundus,' must of necessity do violence to his feelings on some occasions; add to this, that by change you would multiply anxieties a hundred-fold—

οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα,
ᾧ λαοί τ' ἐπιτετράφαται, καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε·

and the force of this is increased a thousand degrees by the very critical times in which all Europe, and England, the eye of Europe, are now placed."

The letter from the Solicitor General, Sir John Mitford (afterwards Lord Redesdale), is the earliest of a long series from that attached friend. It is dated

"Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 5th, 1793.

"I have long meditated writing to you," he observes, "in consequence of a report which *was* very strong, which then died away, but is now revived. It was that you were to resign the chair and take the office of secretary. I do not mean to ask you whether there was a word of truth in the report; but supposing it possible that the thing should have been proposed to you, I am anxious to tell you how much I think you would hazard of your happiness, by sacrificing a situation in which you are high in the public esteem, for one of considerable difficulty, at an arduous moment, and where you would find it almost impossible to give that entire satisfaction which you now feel from all sides. I am, perhaps, in some degree authorised to press this, from reflection on what I have myself done. I was happy in a situation in which I flattered myself no one disapproved my conduct: without sufficient consideration I took another, which I am conscious is one of considerable responsibility, and the possession of which accuses me of presumption every time I reflect upon it. In fine, my dear Sir, I have thrown away a situation of comparative ease, and taken one of trouble and vexation; and I wish you to avoid my mistake."

This was sound and excellent advice; but the singular fact connected with it is, that subsequently it was equally disregarded by the party who offered and the party who received it; for Sir John Mitford, who succeeded Mr. Addington in the chair, exchanged that situation for the anxious and turbulent office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Many letters occur in the correspondence of this year, relating to the progress of the war, the various events of which, though they appeared to proceed with tolerable equality of advantage and disaster on the part of the allies, must be considered to have terminated, in some respects at least, to the advantage of the French. The letters bearing on this subject have been classed together, for convenience of reference; and it is interesting to observe the alternate elevation and depression of spirits manifested by the various writers, as the good or evil tidings flowed in from various quarters. Thus, in April, Huntingford is found "applying with joy the

> "Multa dies variique labor mutabilis ævi
> Retulit in melius"

to the early successes of the armies in Flanders. As the summer advanced, the hopes of the allies were still further excited. July was a proud month for England, for then occurred the action of St. Amand, and the battle of Famars, which led to the fall of Condé and Valenciennes; on all which occasions the British army was especially distinguished. The tide of success reached its highest point on the 28th of August, when Toulon and the French fleet voluntarily surrendered to Lord Hood, on certain conditions. But here the favours of fortune ceased. The failure at Dunkirk, on the 22d of the same month, occasioned great disappointment in England, and corresponding rejoicings on the part of the French, who were occupied about that time in mur-

dering their Queen*, and it encouraged them to such extraordinary efforts, that later in the campaign they compelled the Prince of Coburg to raise the blockade of Maubeuge, and to retreat across the Sambre. Lord Hood also, before the end of November, was obliged to evacuate Toulon, after taking away or destroying the ships found in the port; whilst the Austrian and Prussian forces on the Rhine were not more successful: so that, on the whole, no real progress was made during this first year of the war in eradicating or punishing the evil genius of revolution. Pitt wrote thus to his friend on the arrival of the tidings from Dunkirk:—"Downing Street, Sept. 13th. The account in Wednesday's Gazette will have reached you full soon. That received yesterday (which I enclose) is, under such circumstances, good as far as it goes. * * * The check and the disappointment are both severe; but unless *they make too deep an impression at home*, their effect abroad will, I think, be but temporary. We have immediately ordered from hence a reinforcement to the Duke of York of seven battalions, which were collected for another service, but may be spared for a time without interfering with their original destination. You shall certainly hear from me again, as soon as any thing material arrives."

The Speaker remarked to Mr. Pole Carew on this occasion, Sept. 16th:—"The surrender of Sluys and Valenciennes has made a material difference in the prospect; and yet it can only be said to be favourable or gloomy in proportion to the exertion which is to be made by the allies. The footing, however, which

* This atrocious national crime was perpetrated October 16th.

the French have gained in Holland, and the loss of ours on their frontier, must cripple us for the remainder of the campaign."

Towards the end of September the Speaker visited Mr. Pitt in town, and on his return (Sept. 29th) communicated his impression of public affairs to his brother, in the following terms: — "My journey to town has rather tended to lessen my regret at the past, than my anxiety for the future. There are many irons in the fire; but if no disaster occurs within the next three weeks, I think the prospect will be as favourable as could be wished." Not thus, however, thought the public; many of whom were already quite wearied and disheartened at the war, although it had not yet extended to a twentieth part of its destined duration. This is stated on the authority of Lord Mornington, who thus writes on the 8th of November: — "What do you hear of the public temper respecting the war? I meet with much discontent and disappointment; but I think all will vanish at the first flourish of the trumpets on the first day of the session, unless some great calamity should happen before the meeting. The general turn of people's minds seems to be to condemn the *conduct* of the war; I think the original necessity of our engaging in it, and the impossibility of making a safe and honourable peace with the present government, become more evident every hour, and appear so even to those who are most inclined to be clamorous."

At this period France sustained a heavy blow in the loss of the important colony of St. Domingo, through the prevalence of revolutionary principles. This induced the Speaker to write thus to his

brother: — "Dec. 11th. Je respire — as the success at St. Domingo, considering its intrinsic importance, (independently of the favourable symptom which is evidenced by such a defection from Pandæmonium) is only inferior to that at Toulon. The one promises indemnity for the past, the other security for the future. I am not, however, without anxiety." On the 15th of December, he adds, "The Prussians and Wurmser have made the French pay with a large interest for the advantages they have gained. * * * * It appears there was much spirit in the assault on Bitche, and prudence in the approach to Strasburg, and the failures at each, instead of producing panic, have been followed up by victory. * * * I am not easy for the royalists, and not entirely so for Toulon. You must have read Carrier's account of their sinking a vessel, containing fifty-eight refractory priests, in the Loire. I hope you also noticed the comment upon it in Barrère's report. He there exclaims with ecstasy, — 'What a revolutionary torrent is the Loire!'"

The progress of the war in the year 1794, though attended with some fluctuation, was in the result extremely unfavourable to the allies, and led to that clamour for peace, and that dissatisfaction at the measures of government and the services of commanders, which the British public almost invariably manifests under the discouragements of fortune, and of which symptoms had appeared as early as in the autumn of the preceding year. Wherever England was engaged single-handed, her prowess was rewarded with the usual successful results; and especially was this the case in the decisive struggle between the two

grand fleets of England and France, in the Channel, on the 1st of June, when seven sail of the French line of battle were captured, and six of them conducted in triumph to Spithead. But on the Continent the revolutionary spirit operated irresistibly in favour of France, by inspiring her armies with an enthusiastic desire of conquest, at the same time that it instilled discord, treachery, and republicanism in the countries defended by the allies. Hence, notwithstanding some partial successes, and a brave resistance in Flanders, the British and allied forces were, in the course of the campaign, gradually forced back into Holland, and the defences of that country became so weakened and undermined, that early in the ensuing year the republicans obtained complete and permanent possession of it. Nor were the Austrians more successful on the side of the Rhine; whilst Prussia this year withdrew altogether from the coalition, and commenced that selfish and ungenerous course of policy, by which for many years she sought to purchase the favour of France, and thus enrich herself at the expense of her late allies.

After this brief prefatory notice of the principal events alluded to in the letters of this disastrous year, we proceed to the examination of the correspondence itself. Writing to his brother on the 5th of January, the Speaker observes; — "The evacuation of Toulon and the relief of Landau fill my cup with wretchedness to the brim. Is it not possible for you to come here for a day or two, that we may vent our grief and disappointment together?"

Parliament met this year for despatch of business on the 21st of January. The present system of re-

porting the addresses therein delivered, which has rendered the immediate impression made by a speech, a matter of much less importance to statesmen than the effect expected to result from its perusal, did not then exist, and we find Colonel Mitford lamenting the absence of some such vehicle for publicity, in the following words: — "I dare say Pitt will make some splendid speeches at the opening of parliament, which will be very ill reported by the ministerial newspapers, and very well perverted by the anti-ministerial. I wish he would contrive, somehow or other, to let the public benefit more from his singular ability to explain complicated interests, to refute ingenious falsehood, and to exhibit truth in advantageous dress." The King's speech on this occasion recommended to parliament perseverance in their exertions for the successful prosecution of the war; and the address, in answer to it, was most ably supported by Lord Mornington, who clearly showed, from the proceedings of the French revolutionary government, that the Republic had commenced the war with England, and that the contest was entered upon by the latter power, simply because it was impossible to remain any longer at peace. At the conclusion of the debate, the House manifested its concurrence in this reasoning, by carrying the address by 277 votes against 59. The interest, however, usually attached to parliamentary proceedings, was transferred this year to the more momentous events of the war. Parliament readily granted the requisite additions to the forces employed by land and sea, and voted all necessary supplies, and a large amount of new taxes, with an unanimity worthy the conjuncture. On the 25th

of March a message was delivered from the King, stating the expressed intention of the enemy to invade the kingdom, and recommending an increase of the militia. This was readily assented to, and volunteer corps were likewise formed in several parts of the kingdom. England, in short, became one great theatre of military preparation; and it must be acknowledged, that the cause was by no means disproportioned to the effort; for France had at that time a million of men under arms, of whom half were already on the frontiers prepared for action; and she was at the same time making astonishing efforts at Brest, to equip a fleet to contest with that of England the dominion of the seas. Several attempts were made by the Opposition in the progress of this session, to obtain an expression of censure on the proceedings of the ministry, and of a desire to make peace with France, but they were all overpowered by an overwhelming majority, occasioned partly by an increasing sense of the perils of the country, and partly by the accession to the ranks of government of a large and highly influential portion of the Whig party under the Duke of Portland. The labours of parliament, after having continued nearly six months, were finally closed on the 11th of July. The letters which the Speaker received during the session breathe nothing but the spirit of preparation and resistance of invasion.

Early in May, Mr. Bragge mentions with delight the publication of two Gazettes of good intelligence in one day, "like the burgundy overtaking the champagne at Michael Angelo's entertainment." These communicated the capture of Martinico, St. Lucia,

and Guadaloupe, by Sir Charles Grey, and the surrender of Landrecy to the combined army. The next letter in the series records the achievement of the 1st of June, one of the brightest days in the British naval annals; and, having proceeded from the pen of one of the principal actors, Sir Alexander Hood, created, in reward of this service, Lord Bridport, it will probably be received by the reader with interest and respect.

"Royal George, at sea, June 3d, 1794.

"My dear Mr. Speaker,

"It is with the highest pleasure I take my pen to give you joy of our having gained a complete victory over the fleets of the enemy, on the first of June. That glorious day must, indeed, be ever recorded in the page of history for naval skill and British intrepidity, which must give safety to the crown of England and security to the kingdom. I will not say one word on the share the Royal George took, bearing my flag; but leave her conduct to be represented by the Commander-in-Chief. Neither shall I state to you the part taken in these actions by other ships. But I will just tell you, that in the actions of the 29th of May and the 1st of June the Royal George had twenty men killed and near seventy wounded. Your little friend, Mr. Boys, was also wounded in the leg, close by me, and an amputation was immediately performed above the knee; and Mr. Sheppard, a most skilful surgeon, tells me he will do well, and is in high spirits. I thank God I am quite safe and well, and so is my captain. At the same time that we rejoice in great and glorious battles fought and won, we must lament the loss of those that are fallen, and more particularly we must feel for those that are suffering from the wounds they have received. The Gazette will inform you, my dear Sir, of the names and numbers of all that are killed and wounded in the fleet, which spares me the task of saying more upon this painful subject. Your relation, Mr. Godwin, is safe and well, and you will be well warranted in getting him made a lieutenant. I know not whether you

are released from your duty in parliament, or where this letter may find you when it arrives on land; but I trust it will meet you and Mrs. Addington in perfect health, and with every good to you both,

"I have the honour to be, my dear Mr. Speaker,
"Ever your faithful and affectionate humble servant,
"ALEX. HOOD.

"P. S. A partial action took place on the evening of the 28th, and I understand one ship was taken*—a first-rate—which I suppose the Audacious has conducted to England before this time. We have six French hulks now in tow; one sunk the 2d, at night. Farewell."

This mention of the action of the 1st of June recalls to memory one of Lord Sidmouth's favourite anecdotes relating to that event. All the actors in the glorious achievement deserved, and of course received, the thanks of parliament for their conduct. Vice-Admiral Sir Alan, afterwards Lord, Gardner, a man of undaunted bravery, but of a remarkably sensitive and retiring temperament, being at the time member for Plymouth, was, according to custom, to receive through the Speaker the honour of the thanks of the House, in his place in parliament. On the appointed day, before the commencement of business, he entered the Speaker's private room in great agitation, and expressed his apprehensions that he should fail in properly acknowledging the honour which he was about to receive. "I have often been at the cannon's mouth," he said, "but hang me if I ever felt as I do now! I have not slept these three nights. Look at my tongue." The Speaker rang for a bottle of Madeira, and Sir Alan took a glass. After a short

* This vessel, the Revolutionaire, effected her escape into a French port.

pause he took a second, and then said he felt somewhat better; but when the moment of trial arrived, and one of the bravest of a gallant profession, whom no personal danger could appal, rose to reply to the Speaker, he could scarcely articulate. He was encouraged by enthusiastic cheers from all parts of the House; but after stammering out with far more than the usual amount of truth, that "he was overpowered by the honour that had been conferred upon him," and vainly attempting to add a few more words, he relinquished the idea as hopeless, and abruptly resumed his seat amidst a renewed burst of cheers.

Before the conclusion of this session, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, the thanks of the House were accorded to the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq., and were conveyed by the Speaker to those gentlemen, in the following terms; to which Mr. Burke, as the leading manager, replied in almost the last words which he ever uttered in parliament: — "Gentlemen, it is my duty to communicate to you the thanks of this House for the manner in which you have discharged a most arduous trust, on an occasion highly interesting to the honour and justice of the nation. The subject to which your attention has been directed was intricate and extensive beyond example; you have proved that it was well suited to your industry and eloquence, the exertions of which have conferred honour, not on yourselves only, but on this House, whose credit is intimately connected with your own. A forcible admonition has been given on this occasion to all persons in situations of high and important national trust, that they can neither be removed by distance, nor sheltered by

power, from the vigilance and authority of this House, which is possessed of no privilege more important than that by which it is enabled to bring public delinquents to the bar of public justice, and thus to preserve or rescue from dishonour the British name and character. But in addressing you on this occasion, and in considering the beneficial consequences to be expected from this proceeding, it is impossible not to advert to the increased security which the constitution has derived in the course of it, from the recognition and full confirmation of the principle, that an impeachment is not discontinued by a dissolution of parliament; a principle essential to the privileges of this House, and to the independent and effectual administration of public justice. Under these impressions, suggested by the nature and importance of your trust, and by the manner in which you have discharged it, I obey, with the utmost satisfaction, the commands of this House, by stating to you their resolution; 'That the thanks of this House be given to the members who were appointed the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq., for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them.'"

Immediately after the prorogation of parliament, the arrangement for the admission of the Duke of Portland and other leaders of the Whig party to office, which had been so long under negotiation, was announced in the Gazette. The principal appointments were those of Earl Fitzwilliam to be Lord President of the Council, Duke of Portland to be a Secretary of State, Earl Spencer to be Keeper of the Privy Seal of England, the Duke of Gordon to be

Keeper of that of Scotland, and Mr. Windham to be Secretary at War. The introduction into the cabinet of so many of those who until recently had been his political opponents, and who might almost, if not quite, have outvoted him, was a measure worthy of the great and daring mind of Pitt, who, when the subject was mentioned to him by the Speaker, only observed, that he was under no anxiety on that account, since he placed much dependence on his new colleagues, and still more on himself. In this confidence in his own ability to overcome difficulties, so characteristic of a superior intellect, Mr. Pitt was seconded, Lord Sidmouth used to observe, by his great rival, Mr. Fox, who wittily and candidly concluded one of his speeches in parliament, by saying, "There is one point, and only one, on which I entirely agree with the right honourable gentleman, (hear, hear! from all parts of the House) and that is, in the high opinion he entertains of his own talents." Mr. Burke, it will be observed, took no office on the occasion: he contemplated indeed at that time an early retirement from public life; and having already succeeded in convincing the government, the parliament, and the public, of the dangers menacing the country from the French revolution, he now only retained his seat in parliament until the other great object of his political labours, the impeachment of Warren Hastings, should have terminated. He was, however, the chief mover in that conjunction of parties which now introduced his friends to the councils of their sovereign; and he also formed one of the guests at a dinner which Mr. Pitt gave to his new colleagues on their entrance into the cabinet, the

particulars of which Lord Sidmouth related to the author in May, 1842. The party consisted of the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Moira, Lord Grenville, Lord Stormont, Mr. Windham, Mr. Burke, the Speaker, and their host. As they arose from table, after much desponding conversation on the gloomy aspect of public affairs, Mr. Burke, in an encouraging tone, addressed to them the following line from the Æneid, as his parting advice: —

"Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis."

It appears that Mr. Pitt could not effect this important junction without disappointing in some respects the honourable hopes and expectations of his own friends and supporters. There is a letter addressed to the Speaker by Earl Camden, who had been encouraged to expect the next appointment to the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, expressing his Lordship's regret at "hearing from Mr. Pitt that Lord Fitzwilliam had claimed a right to go to Ireland whenever Lord Westmoreland came away; and that he, Mr. Pitt, had found himself under the necessity, from the manner in which the negotiation had begun and concluded, to acquiesce in this arrangement." His Lordship adds, "As I am sure Mr. Pitt has enough on his mind to vex and trouble him, I did not suffer him to perceive the disappointment this intelligence gave me." Lord Mornington, then a Lord of the Treasury, was another who deposited his regret in the friendly bosom of the Speaker, and who doubtless, in return, received the benefit of that cheering influence for which his confidant was so remarkable.

Writing on the 3d of May, his Lordship observes, "I am very much afraid, from a variety of circumstances, that Pitt has no idea of altering my situation this year. I cannot tell you how much I am mortified at that and other symptoms, not of unkindness, but of (what perhaps I deserve) decided preference to others. I have serious thoughts of relinquishing the whole pursuit, and becoming a spectator, (not a very indifferent one, as you may believe, either to the success of the war or to Pitt's interest and honour,) but I cannot bear to creep on in my present position."

In the next letter, dated Brighton, July 27th, by which time the arrangements with the Portland party had been completed, his Lordship expressed himself still more fully on this subject:—

"You seemed to wish to hear from me, and I imagined that wish to arise chiefly from your kind anxiety to know whether any thing passed between Pitt and me before I left town. Pitt sent for me the day of my departure, and told me that in settling this treaty, he had positively stipulated that I should have the next office (to be held with the Privy Council) which should become vacant; and he further informed me that the Duke of Portland entered very readily into this arrangement, and said it was but reasonable that I should stand first for such a situation. This is, I own, more than I expected, seeing myself wholly passed over in the late changes, and having received no explanation on the subject. * * * However, I am now satisfied that I was not entirely out of Pitt's mind, which was my principal apprehension." * * * * * * * *

"I am full of despondency upon the subject of the war. I think it is too probable that Holland will fall. Should that event happen, I suppose we shall confine our operations to the sea, and I dread the possibility of the same monstrous

system being applied to augment the naval force of France which has already rendered her armies invincible. The moment she is delivered from the danger of an offensive war on the frontier, she will turn all her requisitions, pretensions, and levies of the mass of the people, towards the increase of her fleet; and she will not be embarrassed by the protection either of colonies or commerce. Her resources, particularly for naval purposes, will receive an enormous accession from the conquest of Holland; and when she has advanced so far, I shall not be at all surprised to see the fleets of Denmark and Sweden join hers. Add to all this the plunder of the Netherlands, of all the countries on the banks of the Rhine (including Frankfort and the whole palatinate), for she will have them all in a short time; add also, that the moment she is at liberty upon the Rhine, Switzerland and Italy will be at her mercy. I expect to see the whole of this realised, having, after a good deal of reflection, entirely renounced all confidence in our allies, *and all hopes of any internal convulsion in France.* But do not suppose that I mean from this to contend for peace. Peace would be certain ruin: the events of war, from their uncertainty, always afford some room for hope. Besides, you now see that the French openly avow the purpose of exterminating the English name, and therefore would not grant peace on any terms. I have heard from my sister as late as the 10th of July: she was then in good health and well treated; but I am afraid there is no prospect of her being set at liberty.* Believe me, dear Sir, ever yours most sincerely,

"MORNINGTON."

The above gloomy, but far-sighted, observations on the probable results of the contest were occasioned by

* The Lady Anne Fitzroy had accompanied her husband, the Honourable Henry Fitzroy, who was labouring under a pulmonary complaint, to Lisbon, where he unfortunately died. On her return to England, her Ladyship was captured in the packet in which she had embarked, and was carried a prisoner into France during the reign of terror, under the dreaded Robespierre. She afterwards married Charles Culling Smith, Esq., and died on the 16th of December, 1844.

the success of the French arms in Flanders, and by the symptoms, now too apparent to be mistaken, of the approaching dereliction of Prussia. The wisdom and truth of a large portion of his Lordship's prognostics are strikingly manifest: but it is singular that the words printed in italics should have been penned on the 27th of July, and that on the very next day, the 28th, the sanguinary monster Robespierre should have terminated his for-ever infamous career on that scaffold to which he had consigned so many innocent victims. It appears that the desponding anticipations of his noble correspondent had little effect on the Speaker's sanguine temperament, who, in after life, used frequently to say, "Thank God, I never was guilty of the crime of despair;" and at this time addressed the following words to his friend Pole Carew:—"The report in last night's paper of Lord Spencer's departure for Vienna, is, I think, extremely probable. I hope it is true, and that he will return with 50,000 Austrians at his heels. Such a reinforcement, with fidelity on the part of the Prussians, and vigour and unanimity throughout the combined army, would, I have no doubt, retrieve the campaign." Unfortunately, Lord Mornington's apprehensions were too well founded: Prussia soon proved herself undeserving of confidence, and the affairs of the allies quickly degenerated from reverses to defeats. Under these circumstances, the only consolation of Great Britain consisted in the bravery of her armies and the successes of her fleets; an instance of which is mentioned in the following note from Mr. Pitt, dated Hollwood, July 23d:—"I go to town to-morrow, and shall certainly stay still Thursday evening, perhaps Friday

morning; this will depend, amongst others, upon your engagements. I wish you could contrive to give me half a day here on your way back, and I shall return the visit in my way to Burton very soon. By an Antigua newspaper, we learn that Admiral Gardner had landed troops, said to be to the number of 3000, at Martinique, on the 13th, but no farther particulars are mentioned." It is almost needless to add, that in the progress of the war, Martinique, and nearly every other French colony, successively fell into the hands of the British. Lord Sidmouth, in after years, used to lament this predatory system of warfare against petty colonies, as occasioning a waste of life and treasure altogether disproportionate with the result intended; and as uselessly dissipating those resources which, if employed against France herself, might have made her sensible of the miseries she was inflicting on others, and probably hastened the tardy catastrophe of the years 1814 and 1815. He often told his friends that, after his accession to the government, he called for a statement of the losses from every cause incurred by the British forces on foreign service, especially in the West Indies, since the commencement of hostilities in 1793, a period of about nine years; and that it amounted to the astounding number of 1350 officers and 60,000 men, —a loss probably not greatly exceeded by that incurred by the Duke of Wellington in his six Peninsular campaigns.

We return now to the personal proceedings of the Speaker, who passed the short recess which the exigencies of public affairs admitted of at Bognor, from whence, on the 24th of August, he addressed to his brother the following remarks respecting the recent

downfall of the Terrorists at Paris: "What the consequences of the late proceedings at Paris will be, it seems difficult to imagine. I hope the people will find out at last that they are in the hands of a few miscreants, of whom they are the dupes and victims. At all events, it is a satisfaction to think that there are some rascals the less in the world. Beelzebub might give a tear to the Robespierres, St. Justs, and Henriots."

The letter next in succession brings us acquainted with another early friend, the Reverend Thomas Le Mesurier, to whom the Speaker was much attached, and whose correspondence will be frequently made use of in the progress of this work. He was an orthodox divine, an able writer, an active magistrate, and sound politician; and he enjoyed until his death, which occurred in July, 1822, much of the Speaker's confidence and friendship. He was at this period engaged upon a tour in the North of Europe, from whence he addressed a letter to his friend, of which considerable extracts will here be given, both as an introduction of the writer, and on account of the interesting particulars which it embraces.

"Stockholm, October 31st, 1794.

"I met Mr. Douglas at Frankfort in the beginning of July, and after staying another week with him and Ballard, we provided ourselves with silk coats, and set out for Saxe Gotha, where we were invited to dine with the Duke the next day. We were extremely struck with this prince: there was a better mixture of affability and dignity than we have seen any where, and, added to this, much good sense and good nature, with no small portion of literary information. I find he is considered one of the most learned sovereigns of the empire. His people seem to be happy, and in more ease than in most of the parts through which we passed. This, however, was pretty much the case too in Saxe Weimar, where

we went afterwards, and where we were received even with more attention than at Gotha. The Duke of Weimar is one of the *esprits forts* of Germany, and a great patron of learning; Goëthe (the author of Werter) is a favourite of his; Wieland also (another great literary name), with some others, lives and is encouraged there. You will be surprised to hear that at this Duke's table one of his court should openly defend the French and abuse Pitt. We had a pretty warm discussion both that day and the next, when we met also at Mr. Gore's, upon the subject; and when I tell you that I had the honour of the day both times, I mention it only to show that this gentleman's opinions are singular. Indeed the courtiers have good sense to see, and tremble for, the effects that would be produced upon them by the French revolution gaining ground; and therefore look with horror on any man that would make its eulogium. Yet I observe that their antipathy against it is more passive than active; they most devoutly wish the French at the ——, but not only they do not exert themselves to repel them, but have not accustomed themselves to think it possible to do so: much the greatest part let out their fears of its reaching to them. * * * At Hesse Cassel they think and speak with more manliness; owing, I suppose, to their being engaged so deeply with us. We met at that court with some people that I liked much. * * * With the arrangements made by the Landgrave you are acquainted. His firmness and activity about the French war do him honour. * * * From Cassel we went to Brunswick, and were there entertained with wonderful hospitality by the Duchess and the family. We prolonged our stay for a week, and were every day engaged at the court with one or other of the princes and princesses. * * * The Duchess said some things respecting the possibility of the match which has since been resolved upon, which I shall not now repeat, but which did her heart infinite honour. The future Princess of Wales we sat down at table with several times, but hardly heard her open her lips. She was visibly kept under great constraint: she is rather handsome. * * * We had some conversation with the Duke on the only day that we happened to meet him at dinner at the Duchess's; and he too was by no means reserved — at least, he was glad to set one

talking, and that necessarily brought him forward too. * * * He agreed with me as to the possibility of hourly revolutions in France, and said all that was wanting was patience and money: if we could find that, all would go well. * * * It is the strong opinion of every body at that court that the King of Prussia's ministers are sold to the French; and though he himself did not explicitly say so, he gave me to understand as much when I was talking about St. Juste's report, and what he says there of the manner in which their secret service money has been distributed. There is something very striking both in the person and manners of the Duke, who is much liked by his subjects; and they appear happy and well taken care of. * * * One thing only more I must mention. It would do your heart good to hear how Pitt is spoken of at all these courts: even that which we have forgot in England — his conduct during the regency business — is fresh in their minds. It is impossible for man to be more an object of admiration; and, indeed, so is England. * * * An old general of Mentz, with whom we dined at Erfurt, lamented to me the little concert that there was between the Austrians and Prussians on the Rhine, from whence he had received letters, stating that they rejoiced in and would almost contribute to the defeat of each other. From Brunswick we came through Hanover to Hamburgh; and ever since that time we have been in companies where, if the French revolution was not spoken of with direct approbation, yet the language was that it was impossible to conquer them, and of course that peace should be made, that the war was impolitic, &c. &c. * * * * Indeed the Hamburghers have been particularly great gainers by the war, in the amazing influx of business which it has occasioned, and also by the singular protection which their trade has received, owing to their being one channel for the supplying of France with corn: of course they must be shy of speaking very strongly or openly against the French. With regard to Denmark and Sweden my opinion is, from what I have seen, that their conduct arose from the inability which they felt in themselves to carry on any war, and the idea that it was only by leaning to the French side that they could continue at

peace. * * * People here seem to expect a revolution at no great distance. Things are now kept quiet by the approach of the King's coming of age, and the new system which may then be looked for; till which time men are content to wait. * * * *Au reste:* this court is as corrupt as any you would wish to conceive; and the nobility are hankering after what they lost by the last revolution. Indeed I apprehend that this government always requires a king of peculiar talents and energy; in that case the people, who are extremely well-disposed and orderly, go naturally with him. The merchants here with whom I have conversed are terribly afraid of the French getting Amsterdam: it would give such an interruption to commerce as would severely punish them for any leaning which they may have shown towards the French. But in truth every body who has property is now sensible that there is no security for it if sans-culottism prevails; and all that they say comes to this, that it is so terrible that they dare not look it in the face and manfully set themselves against it. The consequences of this timidity may go farther than they, or even we, are aware of. I think I have now let off upon you a good dose of politics. I forgot to mention that throughout Germany the literati, and particularly the professors, who have the care of the education of youth, are all tainted with Jacobin principles. This is a fact every body agreed in. Perhaps this is the result of the ignorance and pride of the German nobility, and the conscious superiority as to mental acquirements of the others."

At that cheerless period of foreign politics, it must have been gratifying to the Speaker to receive the following manly letter from Thomas Powys*, Esq., M.P. for Northamptonshire — a leading member of that influential party denominated the Country Gentlemen —

* This gentleman, the grandfather of the present Lord Lilford, took an active part in parliament on several occasions, especially in the unavailing attempt to reconcile Mr. Pitt with the coalition under Mr. Fox and Lord North, in February, 1784. He represented the county of Northampton in four successive parliaments, and was raised to the House of Peers as Baron Lilford in 1797. He died January 26th, 1800, in his fifty-seventh year.

with whom, as well as with his son the late Lord Lilford, Lord Sidmouth constantly maintained a cordial intimacy.

In consequence of the proclamation for the meeting of parliament in November, Mr. Powys wrote to the Speaker in the following terms:—

"My dear Sir, Lilford, Oundle, Sept. 28th, 1794.

"Although a continued residence in London this year will be matter of much personal inconvenience to me, yet, as I stand as early and deeply committed on the subject of the war as any private individual of my description, I should be very unwilling to omit any opportunity of showing that my opinions are unshaken by any untoward circumstances in the progress of the contest. I trust, therefore, you will have the goodness to furnish me with such intelligence as may direct my motions. I hope that the general view of our situation ought not to dispirit us: however our expectations may have been checked on the Continent, much has happened at home to afford us consolation and confidence. I have not had very extensive opportunities of informing myself of the present temper of the public; but as far as my observation or inquiries have gone, the steadiness and soundness of their attachment to the constitution and government, aided by the measures which have been taken, effectually secure us against any internal danger. I wish we may continue to experience an equal degree of firmness and perseverance in meeting the necessary consequences of a protracted and extensive war. Some symptoms of impatience and disappointment are discernible among very well-affected persons, and the probable progress of this disposition is the evil of which I am the most apprehensive, and which I am the most anxious to counteract. When we meet in November I hope to congratulate you on Mrs. Addington's recovery, and the increase of your domestic blessings.* In the mean time I am, &c. &c.

"Thos. Powys."

* The present Viscount Sidmouth was born on the 13th November, 1794. Mr. Powys's apprehensions proved groundless, as, after all, the parliament did not meet until the 30th of December.

At this period, the whole nation was watching in breathless anxiety the progress of the trials of Hardy, Thelwall, and the Rev. John Horne Tooke, for high treason. The Speaker mentions in a letter to his brother, dated Oct. 26th, that "he had been summoned by the last-named individual to attend as a witness at his approaching trial," but it does not appear that he actually was examined on the occasion, as was the case with Mr. Pitt. In letters to his brother of the 9th and 11th of November, he thus expresses his sentiments on the result of Hardy's trial: "I have received a letter from the Solicitor General expressive of chagrin and surprise at Hardy's acquittal. It seems to me that sufficient stress was not laid by the counsel for the prosecution on the established principle, that an attempt to subvert the government of the country is an overt act of compassing the King's death." * * * "I see, however, little cause for surprise and uneasiness in this event. It is of more consequence to maintain the credit of a mild and unprejudiced administration of justice, than even to convict a Jacobin. I believe the case to have been fairly made out; but I can see no warrantable ground of imputation upon the jury for their verdict, conceiving, as I do, that they decided upon the circumstances of the case as insufficient to substantiate the proof of an overt act; and that they were wholly uninfluenced by Erskine's strange doctrines upon the law of treason." The King's speech on meeting his parliament alluded to the disappointments and reverses experienced during the recent campaign, and informed the two Houses that the United Provinces being overrun by the enemy, the States General had

been compelled to enter into negotiations for peace, which, it was speedily discovered, amounted to nothing less than an entire surrender of all independence, and the incorporation of Holland with the French republic. Under such circumstances of foreign and domestic anxiety did the nation reach the close of this disastrous year.

CHAPTER VI.

1795.

Close of Mr. Burke's public Life. Death of his Son — Letters from him to the Speaker. Anecdote of Mr. Pitt. Conclusion of Mr. Hastings's Trial. Remarks. Letters of Mr. Burke on the Subject. Lord Fitzwilliam recalled from Ireland — Succeeded by Lord Camden. Letter from the Dean of Waterford. Letter from Lord Bridport. Anecdotes of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and others. Unfavourable State of public Affairs. Scarcity of Corn — Letters on the Subject. Letter from Mr. Pitt respecting Mons. Mouneron's Mission to England. The King insulted by the Mob on his Way to the Parliament. Letter from Admiral Lord Bridport.

THE correspondence of the year 1795 commences with the following letter from Mr. Burke: it was the first which the Speaker received from that illustrious statesman; who had honoured him, however, with numerous marks of favour, since his first election to the chair. On that occasion Mr. Burke was hostile; but when, in the following session, an increase of income was voted to the Speaker, he paid "several compliments to Mr. Addington, for his impartiality, attention, and diligence, which had not only answered the expectations of his own friends, but satisfied the House in general." Two occasions have already been mentioned, upon which the Speaker met Mr. Burke at dinner at Mr. Pitt's; and where parties were thus in the habit of meeting, there could be little occasion for the interchange of letters. But the case was now different,

for Mr. Burke had closed his public career, by resigning his seat for Malton, to his son Richard, at the end of the preceding session; and on the 2d of August following, he sustained an irreparable calamity in the death of that idolised, that only son. Overwhelmed, however, as he was, by such a withering stroke, he did not wholly withdraw his attention from the proceedings of Parliament, so far especially, as they related to that grand prosecution, which had now extended almost to the length of the Trojan war; and it was from the lingering interest which this heart-broken patriot still took in public affairs, that the subjoined letters, which he addressed to the Speaker, derived their origin. The investigation on which for years he had bestowed his utmost labours was drawing to a conclusion: nothing now remained but for the House of Lords to pronounce its judgment; to direct and assist it in which, Mr. Burke had caused the summary of evidence mentioned in the first letter to be prepared.

"Dear Sir, Beaconsfield, Jan. 8th, 1795.

"I take the liberty of writing to you as a private friend, though on public business, and without forgetting that you are Speaker, and deeply interested in whatever concerns the honour of that House in which, during my happier days, I had the honour to sit. Indeed, in the depth of my present humiliation, I do not wholly forget what I owe to it and to you. You have shown your regard to the public justice with distinguished prudence and firmness from the beginning to the close of the Indian prosecution. The final determination is with the Lords; but they are (to speak plain between ourselves) in part so corrupted with the Indian malady, and partly so weak and incapable, that it is due both to them and to the House of Commons, to give helps to the imbecility of some, to oppose shame to the corruption of others, and, if both should fail, to place the whole matter in that clear point

of view, that with posterity the House of Commons, at any rate, should stand clear in having employed so very many years in pursuit of justice against the proud delinquents of the East. It is not enough, in my poor opinion, that we should stand justified on our good intentions. We must show that, in spite of the corruption which has so deeply infected a very large part of a whole profession, the Commons of Great Britain made out their case by a train of solid, judicial evidence, fit to establish the facts, and to prove the criminal intention. This can only be done by making a syllabus of the whole evidence, and printing it, for the use of such lords as choose to have it, according to a plan which I settled before my calamity*, and which, as far as the end of the first charge, that of Benares, is executed. I wish it could have been made shorter. To fair and discerning judges I think it might; though not without difficulty and without breaking that chain and series upon which the force of all accumulative evidence depends. That kind of evidence is that alone which shows the intention. I believe it must stand pretty much as it does; and no time ought to be lost, in my opinion, in printing it: because, if that case is shown to be clear and strong, it will stagger the partial judges, and make them tremble for what they know will speedily follow. The expense for the attorney to prepare this, and counsel to overlook it, will not be at all considerable, and it is the last. Here, my dear Sir, I conjure you to attend to the request of a person who, though he writes this with a firm hand, must be considered as a dead man; and let it have something of the weight which attends, in all pious minds, the testamentary wishes of departed companions. I hope you will permit Mr. Howard and the clerk most active in the business, and who is a man of merit, to attend you with the Benares syllabus. I trust that our gentlemen of the bench and bar, who have thought proper to judge the Commons and their proceedings with so little mercy, are convinced, by some late events, that the nature of business domineers over its forms; not only over those which gentlemen imagine and invent in affairs to

* The death of his son.

which they do not belong; but over the most settled rules, and usages confirmed by the unbroken practice of ages. They will be convinced that the nature of the business not only overrules the mode of proceeding, but that it regulates its time also, and that there is no long or short but that which is described by the transaction. All the matter of all the late trials * put together was nothing to the smallest member in one only of our charges. These gentlemen, too, will be convinced that to an unwilling judge it is not easy to produce evidence that will appear convincing. They will, I hope, be led to consider whether they have not offered and received evidence of the nature of that which they contumaciously thought proper to reject upon another occasion, or even of a much more doubtful quality; and whether, after all, in some of that which they rejected or discountenanced, they did not act from a sense of the embarrassment they felt from their former opinions on Hastings's trial. These lessons if they learn from the late most melancholy defeat of the public justice, some consolation may be found in that truly calamitous event. By the way, Windham was very proper on the occasion; but if the business comes on again, I hope he will be less tender of the jury: because I should be sorry that the conduct of any constituent part of any court of judicature should not be thought within the clear competence of the House of Commons, and open to the censorial animadversion of every one of its members. However, this course must be, like every thing else, subject to the dominion of prudence; for if the King's counsel think it more advisable to have it thought that they have made out a weak case, than that the juries have found a factious verdict, to be sure a layman in government acts a critical part who takes other grounds. * * * May I beg leave to suggest that, until proper statements can be prepared, it may be most advisable to the Lords to have another week's adjournment. There is a set of I know not what unprincipled delicacies going on. Why should not the thing be understood with the Chancellor, and the business put in a regular train, and not left to chance and

* The trials and acquittal of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwall, on indictments for high treason, are here alluded to.

to the partisans of the criminal? * * * Your session seems not to have begun amiss, and I congratulate you on it. I never take up a newspaper. My friends who happen to be here read to me at breakfast what strikes them, and what they think will please me. Surely Mr. Pitt's speech was full of a noble enthusiasm — I mean his answer to Mr. Wilberforce. It must, I think, have produced a great effect. This heat in the House, if such it was, ought not to be suffered to cool too much. I liked, too, very much, Windham's answer to Sheridan. Will you be so good to talk to Mr. Windham on the subject of this letter. Excuse all this liberty: I should think it, myself, beyond excuse, if I did not consider the honour of parliament deeply involved in the decision on impeachment.

"I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, dear Sir, your most faithful and obliged humble servant,

"EDMD. BURKE."

In pursuing the thread of correspondence, the next letter which occurs is one from the Speaker to his brother, dated January 12th, in which he expresses the varying rumours, the slender hopes, and swelling fears, by which the public mind was at that time agitated respecting the progress of the French arms in Holland. Meanwhile Mr. Burke addressed a second letter to the Speaker, which is remarkable for its touching allusion to his recent and overwhelming affliction.

"My dear Sir, Beaconsfield, Jan. 21st, 1795.

"I am to acknowledge, with respect, the regard you have shown to the public in what you have done for the honour of the House of Commons, in the close and in every part of the long and toilsome prosecution of Indian delinquency. I have to acknowledge, also, with most sincere gratitude, your attention to a poor invalid soldier like myself. I shall take care that every thing is laid properly before you. The city busi-

ness was well — very well done.* I hope the Livery will follow the Common Council; though I fear for them, as the factious clubs have some share in that assembly — more, I apprehend, than in the Common Council; but neither the one nor the other do truly represent what people formerly considered as the city of London. The coming forward of the merchants and traders at this time would be very important. A spirit must some way or other be raised. With this gale you may get forward; without it you will be windbound; — without this zephyr you will be as the Waal†, or as the minds of the Dutch — more torpid than their canals. I hear that their ships are taken, for the present, I hope, in trust (*en dépôt*); by-and-by you must declare war. Surely that great link of the eastern and western world, the Cape of Good Hope, will be possessed in the same manner. It would be dreadful if the French should nestle there. These next days' debates" (on the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and on the army estimates,) "will be important to the full extent of what you state. If I were what I was, I know the tone I would take. Oh, if a thousand times better than I ever was had been spared to us, he would have fought this battle with a spirit proportioned to the danger. But God is all-powerful and all-wise. Surely a sufficient number of those who support government do not take part in the debates. It is not

* This alludes to the presentation of loyal and patriotic petitions from the Aldermen and Common Council of London, expressive of their confidence in the ultimate success of the war, and praying parliament to pursue such measures as should effectually defend the country from its enemies, and finally obtain the blessing of peace. A similar petition from the Liverymen, subscribed, was presented to the House of Commons by Sir William Curtis, Feb. 2d.

† In the middle of December the French army had taken advantage of the severe winter to cross the Maese and the Waal on the ice, and attack the allied troops, whom, notwithstanding the brave resistance of the British, they eventually overpowered, and obtained possession of the whole of the United Provinces. They were greatly aided by the mass of the population, who expelled the Stadtholder, and shamefully ill treated, and, in many cases, murdered the English on their retreat.

that, for the argument, Pitt, Dundas, and Windham are not sufficient; but when many come out it shows zeal and animation in the cause, and that animates within and without doors.

"I have the honour to be, with much respect and attachment, dear Sir, your most faithful and obliged humble servant,

"EDM^D. BURKE."

Mr. Pitt brought forward his budget this year on the 23d of February, when he proposed new taxes to the extent of 1,644,000*l.*, the whole of which were carried without serious opposition.

In his next letter Mr. Burke submitted to the Speaker a complaint from Mr. Howard, the solicitor in Mr. Hastings's impeachment, respecting the non-payment of his account.

[Private.]

"My dear Sir, March 6th, 1795.

"The enclosed speaks for itself. For what reason Mr. Howard is thus kept out of his money I cannot conceive, for they may be twenty years in the taxation *; and the money received is not equal to the money paid. The sum is large; but it is great economy if the delinquents in India are made

* This was the bill respecting which Lord Sidmouth was accustomed to relate the following anecdote: Amongst the charges for the prosecution on Mr. Hastings's trial was one of twenty-five pounds for reading the newspapers. Major Scott, who wrote frequently in the daily journals under the signature of "Asiaticus" or "Detector," as well as in his own name, was then in parliament, and was sitting close behind the Treasury bench, whilst the bill was under discussion in committee. This item was specially objected to by several members. Mr. Pitt, however, looking slily over his shoulder, observed that, far from complaining at the charge, he thought the sum a most niggardly remuneration for the irksome task of reading such miserable trash as had been inserted in the papers under the signatures of "Asiaticus," "Detector," and other feigned titles.

to tremble, if the revenues there are protected from peculation, and the people from oppression. But if it only tends to ruin the judicial honour of this country in its very source, to encourage robbers and felons, and to let such men as * * * bring the House of Lords to ruin in the most disgraceful of all the ways in which it can be ruined, then the money of the Commons is ill employed indeed; but that is no reason why those whom you employ should suffer. I am no longer a member of parliament, but in spirit I am with you; and my last prayer would be for the perpetuity of the House of Commons. I am, with the most respectful attachment, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

"EDM^D. BURKE."

The Speaker was now about to be released from one of the chief demands upon his time. For on the 23d of April, the long protracted proceedings in the House of Peers against Mr. Warren Hastings were brought to a close, having ended in his acquittal on all the articles of charge; upon some, unanimously, and on the remainder, by very large majorities. The interest which Mr. Burke continued to feel until the termination of the proceedings is shown in the following letter, which was evidently written about this time:—

[Private.]

"Dear Sir, Wednesday evening.

"May I presume to suggest to you that it would add greatly to the force and authority of every thing done and said towards the close of this trial, if it should be found convenient to you to attend in your place? It would prevent the insolence to which we shall certainly be exposed. * * * It is possible that Grey may conclude to-morrow; or that his strength may not carry him on above a certain time. I know that ——— is capable of attempting to force us, and thereby to strengthen the imputation which they throw upon

us with regard to delay. Now every one of the charges which remain contains in itself an immense volume of matter; and any one of them is more, by far, than enough for the best capacity which the peers have amongst them to take into recollection in a single day. They mean to destroy the gravity and dignity of the whole proceeding by heaping it all together, and huddling it into an indistinct and confused mass, that it may make the less impression. I am sure that you will wish to prevent this as much as possible, for we may be obliged to apply to you; and I trust your son's health will not prevent us from having the "decus et tutamen" of your presence.

"I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

"EDM^D. BURKE."

This extraordinary inquiry, reckoning from Mr. Hastings's rash challenge of Mr. Burke, through Major Scott, in February, 1786, to its close in April, 1795, extended over ten sessions of parliament, whilst the actual trial lasted for seven years, two months, and ten days — more than a tenth part of the natural life of man!!! The legal expenses of Mr. Hastings's defence amounted to 71,080*l.*; which enormous sum the proprietors of East India stock, at a ballot taken on the first of June, 1795, resolved, by a majority of 300, to defray; whilst, on the following day, the Board of Directors voted him an annuity of 5000*l.* These facts, coupled with the remarkable circumstance that nearly a third part of the large quarto volume which relates the proceedings in this trial, is occupied by the signatures of native authorities in India, all bearing testimony to their admiration of Mr. Hastings, as "the most just man and the best governor they had ever received from England,"

constitute a good criterion of the general merits and character of his government of India. Nor was this an interested or a transient feeling; for the writer of these memoirs heard the late lamented Sir John Malcolm observe, not long before his death, that the name of Warren Hastings was still cherished by the natives of British India with the most affectionate veneration.

The trial of Warren Hastings was remarkable for displaying the workings of the various checks by which the British constitution is so nicely balanced. The vast power of the Commons' House of Parliament, whilst the mighty intellects which swayed the two grand political parties were in combination, seemed calculated to crush at once any individual, however powerful, against whom it might be directed. First, however, the House of Peers furnished a counterpoise; then the forms and processes of law interposed; and, lastly, the public sympathy and opinion became awakened; so that at the conclusion, we find Mr. Burke, the chief manager, complaining that the same House of Commons which appeared at the beginning wholly irresistible, was now scarcely treated with becoming deference and respect. Mr. Addington retained a vivid recollection of the earnestness manifested by Mr. Burke in the prosecution of this trial. "Nothing," he remarked, "could be more striking than the look of indignation which Burke once assumed whilst speaking against Hastings before the House of Lords, when he could not think of any epithet blacker than black to apply to the defendant's heart and conduct: at length he added, 'corrupt and gangrenous to the very core.'"

The notice of this protracted question will be closed with two more letters from Mr. Burke to the Speaker, the former of which relates to some circumstance in which Mr. Dundas was concerned, that cannot now be explained; and the latter, written some months after the failure of the impeachment, is remarkable, as being the last which the Speaker ever received from that extraordinary man.

"Dear Sir, 76. Pall Mall, 1795.

"I think it not likely that Mr. Dundas has done any thing to-day. It is essential that he should do so as early as possible. The case is not without its difficulties. But you are, Sir, of opinion that, fall back fall edge, Major Scott, Lord Thurlow, and Co., ought not to disgrace the House of Commons. But whilst you are in that chair, it will not be disgraced; you will certainly tell Mr. Dundas that he should say 'he will, for one, never consent to send the Speaker of the House to call for judgment until he well knows whether the House is not to be disgraced and insulted in his person; that if there be no ground on the view of the evidence to demand judgment, it ought not to be demanded. If there be, that no power on earth shall baffle the House of Commons calling for the punishment of corruption and oppression, and for the protection of the subjects, dependants, and allies of this kingdom; that the Lords have not decided; and that there is little doubt, that if they are surprised into any precipitate resolutions in their committees, on due deliberation, information, and conference, they will and *must* do justice.' O God! I wish the stake of my life could be admitted for the success of this step. But it must not be left to the Indians. It must never be given up. What a shocking thing that the honour of the Commons should be abandoned to themselves, and that a poor, feeble, undone creature should, in his desolate old age, be left the task of displaying to mankind what ought to have been the glory, and is the sorrow, of Great

Britain. Pardon me this liberty. It is well intended to you and your House.

"I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,

"Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

"EDM^D. BURKE."

[Private.]

"Dear Sir, Beaconsfield, March 7th, 1796.

"I have had the honour and happiness of sitting in parliament under you. I know with how much real dignity you have filled the chair of the House of Commons. It is therefore matter of grief, to me inexpressible, that, without any fault of yours, the greatest disgrace and dishonour which ever has fallen upon that House, and upon your chair, since the time we can trace the existence of a Speaker, or even of an House, have fallen upon both in your time. You are the first Speaker who has been dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords with the disgrace of a total failure in an object of impeachment by the House of Commons. A worse disgrace than this has been reserved for your House, and a worse example to the world — you have, as false accusers, been condemned in costs and damages. The East India revenues, upon which the public has a claim, and which are considered as moneys disposable of by parliament, and are in your House as such voted and disposed of, are charged with this penalty on you and your constituents. The effect of your impeachments is to make enormous fortunes for those whom you accuse of enormous crimes.

The peculiar situation in which I acted under your authority, will not permit me, weak, infirm, broken, dispirited, aged as I am, with the remains of my family in a severe illness about me, to have my share, even by acquiescence, in this outrage on justice and on national dignity. Every man is bound not to leave in his conduct an evil example to the world. I shall therefore bring this matter of grievance before the House by a petition*, and my most unfeigned respect for you makes me think it right to give you notice of my intention. Is it

* The usual record of parliamentary intelligence for 1796 has been searched in vain for any account of this petition.

not extraordinary that this trial is the first that has not been printed by the order of the House? I beg a thousand pardons for this trouble. I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, and most sincere regard, dear Sir, your most faithful, and most obedient humble servant,

"EDM^D. BURKE.

"'Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.'"

The reader's attention must now be invited to the state of Ireland. He will recollect the disappointment of Earl Camden, to whom the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland had been promised by Mr. Pitt, at Lord Fitzwilliam's having made it a condition, on the accession of the Duke of Portland's party to office, that he should have the option of succeeding Lord Westmorland whenever his Lordship's retirement from that office should take place. This event having occurred on the 10th December, 1794, Lord Fitzwilliam was appointed accordingly; but that nobleman having acted quite independently of the government, and proceeded without their authority to carry out that afterwards vexata questio, catholic emancipation, then first beginning to be agitated, he excited much apprehension in the cabinet, and was therefore suddenly re-called, after having held the viceroyalty only three months. In this event the apprehensions of the Speaker, lest the minister's new allies should embarrass him in the cabinet, and Mr. Pitt's confident reply, that "he relied much on them, and more on himself," both found their realisation. The Duke of Portland, who was Lord Fitzwilliam's friend, and also, as Secretary of State, the instrument of his removal, appears on this and every other occasion of

difficulty, to have acted a highly honourable, manly, and patriotic part; and it is impossible to peruse the correspondence contained in the Sidmouth MSS., without forming a high estimate of his Grace's integrity and disinterestedness. This event afforded the minister an opportunity of fulfilling his engagement to Earl Camden, whose administration was regarded in a very different light from that of his predecessor, on both sides of the Channel; being as popular with the Protestants of England as it was unpopular amongst the Roman Catholics in Ireland. One letter on this subject will be presented, as well to give an idea of the state of Ireland during the presidency of Earl Fitzwilliam, as to introduce to the reader another of the Speaker's early school and college acquaintances, whose letters frequently occur in this collection, from the present date to that of his death at Bath, in March, 1836. Dr. Christopher Butson, afterwards Bishop of Clonfert and Killaloe, was Dean of Waterford when he addressed the following letter to his friend, on "St. Patrick's day, 1795:—

"My dear Sir,

"As this city has lately been taking the lead of the provinces of the whole kingdom in respect to the measures of Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, perhaps a line upon the state of affairs amongst us may not be unacceptable. A mixed spirit of religious and political party is certainly presenting in this place a novel and very serious aspect. * * * In this neighbourhood are settled more Roman Catholics of landed property and wealth than in any other part of Ireland. The commonalty outnumber us in the proportion of seven Catholics to one Protestant. The election, therefore, for members of parliament must turn upon Catholic interest.

This corporation is governed by Sir John Newport so absolutely as to move only as he pulls the string. * * * He and his family are dissenters, and very warm and slashing reformers in church and state. The two members of the city are returned chiefly by his connections. The combined motives, therefore, of electioneering interest, love of popularity, and dislike of the church, make him the champion of Roman Catholic emancipation to its utmost extent. * * * As soon, therefore, as Lord Fitzwilliam arrived, and the complete emancipation was signified, the corporation voted 300*l.*, to assist the manning of the navy in this port; in two days 1600*l.* was collected from the inhabitants at large for the same purpose. I myself gave, and the clergy also; though certainly we cannot, in common with most of the thinking Protestants of the established church, but be much alarmed for our own safety and situations. Petitions accepted in parliament, signed by Roman Catholics as *bishops* and *archbishops*, praying to be restored to their rights and ancient pretensions, — their friends holding out that no distinction should remain between them and us, * * * and the balance of elections being already decidedly theirs, are surely rational grounds of alarm to us. But what is our situation now? * * * In this city meetings have been held to express regret at the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam and the failure of Catholic emancipation. One object of these meetings is, to mark and distinguish who is to be deemed the Catholic's friend, who his enemy; — a mere test. * * * I am a lover of peace and social quiet: as such I have hitherto had the happiness of living with all parties here in habits of friendly familiarity. The baronet and his family are upon the most intimate footing with Mrs. B. and myself. I have ever thought it my duty to cultivate such habits. * * * Since the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam all bounty for sailors is stopped; the same party profess to make no effort. And let me remark, that the Doctor Hearn, whose name is subscribed to the Waterford resolutions, is the Catholic Dean of Waterford; — the first instance of a popish dignitary subscribing under the sheriff. His brother is the emperor's secretary for Brabant."

We find the same subject alluded to this summer by the Solicitor General, Sir John Mitford, in a letter from which the following passage is extracted:— "Your friend, Lord Camden, I am assured, is in good esteem in Ireland; indeed every thing I hear leads me to think there never was folly equal to that of Lord Fitzwilliam, and that our friend, Mr. Pitt, would have been completely ruined if he had submitted to it."

The next space in the correspondence is occupied by Lord Hood, who had made a representation to the Admiralty of the inadequacy of the force about to be employed under his command in the Mediterranean, in consequence of which he was directed to strike his flag.

"My dear Sir, Portsmouth, May 8th, 1795.

"I give you a thousand thanks for your kind letter. From a wish that those who honour me with their friendship should not be ignorant of the real cause of my dismission, I troubled you with my former one and the enclosure. Being unwilling, in the present state of the nation, to give embarrassment in any manner whatever to government, I thought it prudent to remain in the country some short time, to avoid being asked questions which can lead to nothing good, and may possibly be prejudicial to the public. In the welfare of it no one is more sincerely interested than I am, and my conscience tells me the King has not an officer in his service who has endeavoured with greater zeal and diligence upon all occasions to prove himself a faithful servant to his Majesty and the country. Believe me yours, &c. &c.

"Hood."

Whilst one brother was thus condemned to involuntary inactivity, in consequence of his having remonstrated at the ineffective state of the fleet

under his command, which was, he stated, "two thousand short of complement," the other brother, Lord Bridport, gained an important advantage over the enemy's fleet off the port of L'Orient, which he described to the Speaker in the following letter, dated

"Royal George, at sea, June 25th, 1795.

"My dear Mr. Speaker,

"I have only time to tell you, that I have had the honour and happiness of beating the enemy's fleet, and have taken L'Alexandre, Le Tigre, and Le Formidable. If the land had not protected the remainder, who are kicked into L'Orient with disgrace, but not without a good drubbing, to speak in the phrase of the late gallant Hawke, I believe the whole would have been taken or destroyed. But I am thankful for what has been done, knowing the importance of the blow at the present moment, and I trust the public will derive the happiest consequences from it. I must refer you to my public letter, and to Captain Domett, who carries my despatches to the Admiralty, for such further particulars as shall have occurred to him during the action; and I request that you will permit him to wait upon you. With all good wishes to you and Mrs. Addington, I am, &c. &c.

"BRIDPORT."

Parliament was prorogued this year on the 27th of June, but the Speaker was detained in town by the necessity of his attendance as a member of the committee for the arrangement of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's pecuniary affairs.

The absence of any matter of peculiar interest from the correspondence of this period designates the present opportunity as not unfavourable for the introduction of some of Lord Sidmouth's speakership anecdotes, to which no special date can be assigned. They relate chiefly to Mr. Pitt, of whom he used to say, in words

first applied by Mr. Burke to Mr. Fox, that he was made to be loved; and that, highly as he was to be appreciated as a public man, he possessed qualities which entitled him to be still more admired in private life. He was, he thought, the most fascinating companion he ever met with. He had a talent of improving a man's own sentiments, and returning them to him in a better dress, which Lord Sidmouth used to illustrate very happily by the following anecdote:— Once, he said, he dined at Pitt's with Dundas and Adam Smith, when the latter said to him after dinner, "What an extraordinary man Pitt is — he makes me understand my own ideas better than before."* This faculty Mr. Pitt exemplified on a larger scale on the following occasion:—"Mr. Walker, a large cotton manufacturer, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Blackburne, M.P., once waited upon Mr. Pitt, as a deputation on

* It was probably on this occasion that Mr Addington paid the following poetical tribute to the merits of the great philosophical financier:—

LINES

ADDRESSED TO ADAM SMITH (AUTHOR OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS), AFTER MEETING HIM AT DINNER AT MR. PITT'S.

Oh! welcome thou! whose wise and patriot page
The road to wealth and peace hath well defin'd,
Hath striven to curb and soften hostile rage,
And to unite with interest's ties mankind.
Dragg'd from his lonely den, beneath thy feet,
The bloated fiend Monopoly is thrown;
And with thy fame his splendour to complete
The pride and hope of Britain blends his own.
Proceed, great souls! and Error's shades disperse,
Perfect and execute the glorious plan;
Extend your views wide as the universe,
Burst every bar that separates man from man;
And ne'er may War's curs'd banners be unfurl'd,
But Commerce harmonise a jarring world.

the state of the cotton trade, when Pitt succeeded so effectually in reconciling them to his own views, which were directly opposed to theirs, that Walker said to Blackburne on leaving Downing Street, 'One would suppose that man had lived in a bleaching ground all his life:'" and yet, as Lord Sidmouth remarked in another conversation, "How Pitt got his mass of knowledge no one ever knew. He was hardly ever seen with a book in his hand after his accession to power, sat late at table, and never rose till eleven, and then generally took a short ride in the Park." He must, therefore, have extracted information from those he conversed with, as plants imbibe nutriment from the air around them. Such intellectual powers, enclosed in so feeble a casket, must, it would be supposed, have required some description of artificial support; and accordingly Mr. Pitt did resort to the stimulant of wine, sometimes, as was reported, to an extent not altogether consistent with prudence and moderation. On this being remarked to Lord Sidmouth, he observed, that "Mr. Pitt liked a glass of port wine very well, and a bottle still better; but that he had never known him take too much if he had any thing to do, except upon one occasion, when he was unexpectedly called up to answer a personal attack made upon him by the father of the late Lord Durham. He had left the House with Mr. Dundas in the hour between two election ballots, for the purpose of dining; and when, on his return, he replied to Mr. Lambton, it was evident to his friends that he had taken too much wine. The next morning Mr. Ley, the Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, told the Speaker, that he had felt quite ill ever since

Mr. Pitt's exhibition on the preceding evening: 'It gave me,' he added, 'a violent head-ache.' On this being repeated to Mr. Pitt, he said he thought it was an excellent arrangement, that *he* should have the wine, and the clerk the head-ache."

During the sitting of parliament, Pitt, after the debate, used generally to sup with the Speaker, at the house of the latter, sometimes *tête-à-tête*, but more frequently with one or two other friends. On those occasions the Speaker, when he thought wine enough had been drank, was wont to say, "Now, Pitt, you shall not have another drop." But Mr. Pitt generally became importunate, promising that if a fresh bottle were brought he would only take one glass. His eloquence sometimes prevailed, and the ayes had it: but Lord Sidmouth confessed that when this was the case, the promise of abstinence was seldom long remembered.

Lord Sidmouth used occasionally to amuse his friends with stories of a well-known humorist, Mr. Ferguson of Pitfour, who held a seat in the House when his Lordship was Speaker. That gentleman used to insist that the government ought always to select a tall man to fill the office of Lord Advocate. "We Scotch members," he said, "always vote with the Lord Advocate, and we require therefore to see him in a division. Now, I can see Mr. Pitt, and I can see Mr. Addington; but I cannot see the Lord Advocate." One day Pitfour, with several others, was taking his dinner in the coffee-room of the House, when some one ran in to tell them that Mr. Pitt was on his legs. Every body prepared to leave the table except Ferguson, who remained quietly seated. "What!" said they, "won't you go to hear Mr.

Pitt?" "No," he replied; "why should I? Do you think Mr. Pitt would go to hear me?" "But indeed I would," said Mr. Pitt when the circumstance was related to him.

At a dinner given by Mr. Dundas at Wimbledon, at which Addington, Sheridan, and Erskine were present, the latter was rallied on his not taking so prominent a position in the debates in parliament as his high talents and reputation entitled him to assume, when Sheridan said, "I'll tell you how it happens, Erskine; you are afraid of Pitt, and that is the flabby part of your character." The few remaining anecdotes relate to Mr. Fox, who always treated the Speaker in the most friendly and courteous manner. Mr. Addington on one of his few holidays, during the heat of the French revolution, was riding past the grounds of St. Ann's Hill, when he was espied over the pales by its owner, who called out to him to stop. Mr. Fox then invited him into his garden, showed him its beauties; and as he particularly admired some weeping ash trees, very kindly offered to send him cuttings at the proper season. Some months afterwards, Mr. Fox, who had just been attending a stormy meeting in Palace Yard, went up to the Speaker in the House and said, "I have not forgotten your cuttings, but have brought them up to town with me, and you must treat them so and so." In five minutes more, he was warmly engaged in debate with Pitt and Burke. Mr. Fox delighted in his seat at St. Ann's Hill. At an important epoch of the French revolution, on some one asking, where is Fox? General Fitzpatrick answered, "I dare say he is at home, sitting on a haycock, reading novels, and watching the jays stealing

his cherries." On one occasion, during the progress of Mr. Hastings' trial, Mr. Fox, struck by the solemnity of Lord Thurlow's appearance, said to the Speaker, "I wonder whether any one ever was so wise as Thurlow looks."

We will now resume the thread of the correspondence, by which it appears that the Speaker passed part of the summer at Bognor, from whence he wrote on the 3d of August to his brother, to deplore the unfavourable state of public affairs: — "I wish," says he, "you may have survived the accounts from Quiberon, and the West Indies: the former are deplorable in the extreme. If it be a truth, that 'magni est animi semper sperare,' which I believe it is, Pitt is an illustration of it, as I have ample reason for saying, from a letter which I received from him yesterday *;" yet in addition to the ill success of the war, Mr. Pitt had now to lament the first indications of that scarcity of corn, which was subsequently experienced to an alarming extent. Mr. Hatsell, writing on the 31st of August, observes, that "notwithstanding there never was finer weather, or a more plentiful appearance, old wheat was on Saturday at Seven Oaks' market, 25*l.* per load. At Thrapston market, on the 4th of August, wheat sold at 40*l.* per load, or 20*s.* the

* The letter here alluded to is unfortunately missing. The accounts from Quiberon related to the total destruction, on the night of the 20th of August, by General Hoche, of a large expedition from England, consisting of 10 or 12,000 French emigrants, who had been landed in Quiberon Bay by a British squadron under Sir Edward Pellew. The news from the West Indies related to the revolt of the negroes in all the captured islands, the recapture by the French of Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, and the rebellion of the Maroons in Jamaica.

bushel; above three times what it ought to have fetched."

We find the same subject alluded to, later in the year, by Lord Bridport. "Whatever resolutions," he writes to the Speaker, "are proposed by parliament on the subject of regulations on the expenditure of corn, I shall most cheerfully subscribe my name to, as I believe I have for some time adopted them." It appears that in November, parliament, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, instituted an inquiry into the causes of the scarcity of grain, and prohibited in consequence distillation from wheat, and making starch from that grain, at the same time diminishing the duty on foreign wheat. Many persons also connected with the ministerial party entered into a voluntary agreement (the one mentioned by Lord Bridport) to diminish by one third, the consumption of wheat in their families. Fortunately the scarcity did not at that moment extend to Ireland. Dean Butson, writing from Waterford, in December, observes, "We are under no apprehension of a scarcity, but make our Christmas pies as large as ever."

The Speaker now received a letter from Mr. Pitt, which must have strongly confirmed the opinion which he had previously expressed to his brother of the surprisingly hopeful temperament of his friend's mind.

"My dear Sir, Downing Street, Sunday, Oct. 4th, 1795.

"I return the letters you were so good to send me, each, in their way, containing interesting, though not very satisfactory, intelligence. Reports through Gillet (whom I know a good deal about) must not be considered as authentic; but from other channels it is clear that though Mounceron's ostensible object is a cartel; the real one is to set on foot a negotiation; and, though that cannot be put in train till the present

crisis is past, I think much will be gained by not wholly discouraging his overtures. By the last Paris papers, which reach to the first, I rather think the Convention will carry its point, though it is not yet clear that it will be without a convulsion. The accounts from Sir J. Warren do not promise much on that side, and those from the empire grow worse every day: but I am still sanguine that the line we talked over will bring us speedily to a prosperous issue. I am going next Thursday, for a week or ten days, to Walmer, and hope to return with my budget prepared to be opened before Christmas; and if that goes off tolerably well, it will give us peace before Easter. Ever yours,

"W. P."

Never did a great and wise man indulge in a more rash prediction. At that period, the blessing of a permanent peace was at the distance of twenty years. But how easy is it to speak and judge of events that are past. It was, perhaps, reasonable to infer from the mission of Mons. Mouneron the pacific intentions of the Convention. In Addington's mind at least, as expressed in a letter to his brother, dated Oct. 7th, hope appears to have kindled expectation. "Notwithstanding," he observed, "the late accounts from France, I wish Mouneron was in London, and this I have said to Pitt. The advantage of an overture from the enemy should not be lost; and better terms may of course be obtained from the present rulers of France, if such they can be called, than if their situation was less precarious. We should act in such a manner as to endeavour to profit by their present difficulties, in case they should carry their point, which I rather think they will for the time, but if not, we shall not be the worse for the attempt; and unless we can obtain proper terms, the country will go on with the war, but not otherwise. If we are temperate as

well as firm, the contest, I believe, will soon be over, and the winding up creditable and advantageous in the highest degree to this country." The event shortly proved that peace was not the object of Mons. Mouneron's employers. In this instance, therefore, Mr. Pole Carew, in the following extract, dated October the 12th, took a more correct view of the real state of affairs than either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Addington:—"It has been very evident from the commencement of this war, that the malevolence of those who have successively held the reins of power in France has been principally and eminently directed against this country, and with good reason, since we alone have prevailed against them. From this I infer, that the sending commissioners here to treat for the exchange of prisoners, is only for the purpose of obtaining, by that measure, a supply of seamen for executing their daring and never-forgotten object of invading England."

In the next letter, the reader will be introduced to this French negotiator, Mons. Mouneron, of whom he has recently read so much, by Colonel Mitford, Commandant of the Hants Militia, who met him at Canterbury, on his way to London.

"Farcham, 24th Nov. 1795.

"Whilst yet a sojourner on Barham Down, I fell in with Mouneron at Canterbury. I found him much disposed to communication, and his great object evidently was, to impress the idea that the government under which he acted was firmly established, and capable of answering for the French nation in a treaty for peace. He repeatedly affirmed that his mission had no object but the exchange of prisoners; but his conversation manifested other views. He was warmly of the party of the moderates, at least, in profession; and I should suppose he lamented the internal distractions of his country in a manner rather contradictory of his assertion of the firm-

ness of the government. He was not at all disposed to boast of its successes in arms. 'Those,' he said, 'who have seen France formerly, and may visit it again whenever peace may be made, will find great changes. Paris is no longer the same place; and Lyons, *figurez-vous*, when they could no longer vent their rage against men, they turned it against the stones.' He had been at Lyons since the massacres there, and dwelt much on the subject; and in a second visit which I made him he recurred to it. I mentioned the difficulty his government would have in disbanding its armies. He affected to make light of this. 'To be sure,' he said, 'the army must be rewarded;' and, turning to the captain of the Tigre, taken by Lord Bridport's fleet, who was present, said he hoped he, among others, would find remuneration for his services. The captain, who, it seems, fought very bravely, answered that he was no politician, and did not expect to profit much from his services; but he hoped the gratitude of his country would do something for him, and that the *témoignage d'une nation généreuse*, from which he had received much kindness in the unfortunate situation of a prisoner, would be of some advantage to him. He seemed clearly a moderate, if not in his heart a royalist. I hope you will be firm against those whose great object, whilst they are inciting the mob to roar for peace, is to prevent you from making a good and firm peace. Yours, &c. &c.

"Wm. Mitford."

By this time, the high price of grain and the ill success of the war had made the lower orders of people extremely clamorous for peace, as well as discontented with their rulers; which feeling they displayed in a disgraceful manner, on occasion of his Majesty's going to Westminster in state to open parliament, on the 29th of October, when they insulted him most grossly, and perforated the carriage window with a stone, if not with a more dangerous missile. It is singular that the correspondence contains no allusion to this circumstance; and we therefore readily

pass from so disagreeable a topic to the last letter of the year remaining extant, which was written by Lord Bridport, from Cricket Lodge, on the 19th of December, after "the discharge of the order for the call of the House" had dismissed all but the official members to the repose of the Christmas vacation. "I had not the pleasure," he says, "of a conversation with Mr. Pitt before I left town: indeed I was so fully persuaded that every moment of his time must be allotted to state and other important subjects, that I did not wish to break in upon him; having nothing to ask that I am sure he is not spontaneously willing to grant, from the candour of his noble mind to those who have anxiously employed their humble services in defence of the country, as he has used his great abilities with firmness and fortitude to save it. I think of the struggle in the House of Commons since the 29th October with astonishment; and I feel the highest gratification, as an Englishman, that Mr. Pitt has gained a complete victory over the foes to the King, the constitution, and the country." With these noble and generous sentiments of the chief naval hero of 1795, we conclude the chapter and the record of this disastrous year; in which the constant arrival of ill news from abroad, announcing the recapture of colonies and the defeat and defection of continental allies, combined with the domestic evils of scarcity, discontent, and disturbance, to assail the firmness of that mighty mind, which not only struggled with unabated energy against surrounding difficulties, but actually anticipated the dawning of a brighter day at so early a period as the following Easter.

CHAPTER VII.

1796.

Unenviable Position of the Minister. Clamour for Peace. Expedition to the West Indies. Its disastrous Dispersion. Napoleon Bonaparte — His Successes. Representation of the University of Oxford. Dissolution of Parliament — General Election. Mr. Charles Abbot — His Acquaintance with the Speaker — His Plan for the Promulgation of the Statutes. Crisis of the War. Meeting of Parliament. Mr. Addington re-elected Speaker. Letter from Sir Grey Cooper. Meditated Invasion of Ireland. Dispersion of the French Fleet. Extracts from Major Gore's Letters. Return of Lord Malmesbury from Paris. Extracts from Mr. Pitt's Letters. Treaty of Peace between Austria and France. Letter from Mr. Windham. Meeting of Parliament after Christmas Recess. Financial Embarrassment — Stoppage of Bank Payments. Note from Mr. Pitt. Mutiny at the Nore. Letters from Sir E. Knatchbull and Mr. Bastard. Death of Mr. Burke — His Eulogy by Mr. Windham. Death of Mr. Eliot. Mr. Pitt's deep Grief. Admiral Duncan's Victory. Visit of the Speaker to the Fleet. Description of the Admiral. Appointment of Lord Mornington to the Government of India — His Letter thereon. Meeting of Parliament. Mr. Pitt's Plan of Finance. Voluntary Contributions proposed by the Speaker.

The minister's position at the commencement of 1796 was by no means enviable. He had indeed carried his budget, from which he had augured such satisfactory results, triumphantly through parliament. He had also succeeded in obtaining acts, to remain in force three years, for preventing seditious meetings,

and for the better security of his Majesty's person. Great, however, as was his influence in parliament, his popularity was with difficulty maintained beyond its doors; and the retirement of Prussia and Spain from the confederacy, and the annexation of Belgium and Holland to France, having left Great Britain and Austria to struggle alone for the liberties of Europe, there now arose an exceeding clamour for peace, in which the city of London took the lead, by petitioning to that effect. Frequent motions were made in the House on the same subject, which must have tended only to embarrass the government and to defeat the object they were designed to promote; for the power of making peace resided as much with the enemy as with ourselves; and nothing could be more obvious, than that the greater anxiety we manifested to obtain that blessing, the more reluctant would the French government be to consent to it. It was, in fact, shown, before the end of the year, by the contemptuous dismission of Lord Malmesbury, that the republic had no present intention of suspending its conquests, and that the war must be continued because its continuance was inevitable. Thus terminated Mr. Pitt's sanguine visions. He found the loan he had raised of eighteen millions, instead of insuring, as he hoped, a peace before Easter, unequal even to the prosecution of the war; and was obliged, before the close of the session, to apply to parliament for a further loan of seven millions and a half. Much of this disappointment was probably owing to the state of public feeling, which, in England, unless encouraged by constant success, is usually found, after a short interval, to be as clamorous for peace as it is in the first instance

eager for war. In the present case, the heavy burdens of the contest, its unsatisfactory progress, and the scarcity and dearness of provisions, had augmented this impression to such an extent, that many, especially of the lower orders, did not merely disapprove of the war, but actually desired its termination on any conditions however unfavourable. Influenced by this pressure of public opinion, the minister, at the close of 1795, had brought down a message from the King expressive of his Majesty's disposition to enter upon negotiations for peace with the existing French government. In short, there can be no doubt that Mr. Pitt was extremely desirous of peace; and it appears questionable whether he did not manifest that desire too clearly, and thus encourage the Directory to persevere in the war, under the impression that the means of their only invulnerable enemy were becoming exhausted. The Speaker briefly alluded to this subject, in writing to his brother, on the 5th of January, 1796: "The recess has hitherto been delightful to me: I have many irons in the fire, most of which will be heated by the time I see you. With respect to public affairs, I do not see that the prospect of peace is encouraged either by the circumstances of the war or the disposition of the enemy; and yet I think some ostensible step towards it must be taken by the executive directory, whether they succeed or not in their attempt to raise the forced loan." Writing to the same party on the 10th, he added: "The exigencies which occasioned the retreat of the French may perhaps contribute to accelerate a peace; but the truce does not appear to me to have any necessary or implied connexion with such an event. * * * Our home

prospects seem to mend: for the last fortnight the price of wheat has fallen at the markets in this neighbourhood, and the open weather continues to insure a supply of vegetables, the want of which would increase the consumption of bread, and, of course, the price of it. * * * We mean to be in town on the 29th, and then, for some weeks at least, planting and my family must be exchanged for the Prince's debts and the House of Commons. Repton went yesterday, and left my hands full, and I shall not have time to empty them till they are again in contact with the leaves of a journal." The mild and open weather alluded to in this letter was accompanied by a long succession of violent westerly gales, which prevailed throughout the winter, and were productive of very disastrous consequences to a grand armament intended for the West Indies, which had been preparing all the autumn in the British ports. This ill-fated expedition sailed from Portsmouth in December, at a time when the setting in of tempestuous weather rendered it impossible for the transports to beat to the westward. As early as September, Mr. Hatsell had predicted that it would be delayed until the autumnal and winter gales prevented its progress; and his prediction was fully realised; for it was only after having been repeatedly beaten back into port, and having strewed the coasts of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall with dead bodies and wrecks, that it at length proceeded in a crippled state, and with diminished numbers, to the place of its destination, where the yellow fever speedily destroyed those whom the elements had spared. "How ill fated," wrote Lord Hood on the 3d of January, "is the West India expedition! After the first gale, Admiral

Christian had collected, on the 18th, one hundred and eighty-seven sail of his convoy; but the fleet was again separated; and on the 26th, when the last accounts are dated, he had but ninety-five sail with him, and was no further on his voyage than he was on the 18th; and since the 26th, I am very apprehensive he has experienced another gale. I think Christian has great merit in persevering; for, in the present state of the islands, it appears to be of importance that he should proceed with such a number of his ships, be it more or less, as are in condition prudently to do so."

The year 1796 was remarkable for first bringing into prominent notice the military talents of Napoleon Bonaparte, a new competitor for glory, whose star was about to culminate over all the nations of the Continent, and to alter for a time the destinies of the world. Appointed to command the army which the Directory had prepared for the invasion of Italy, he descended from the Alps on the 9th of April, and in the course of a single campaign successively defeated five armies of the Austrians, and wrested from them the whole peninsula, with the exception of Mantua, in which city he closely besieged the remnant of their forces. This career of victory more than rolled back the tide of success which had accompanied the Archduke Charles in the campaign in Germany, and had enabled him to drive the armies both of Jourdan and Moreau beyond the Rhine. As regards continental affairs, therefore, the correspondence of this year contains little to encourage, much to depress; consequently the extracts and notices will be chiefly confined to domestic matters. As the parliament had now continued for six years, its ex-

pected dissolution at the close of this session, and the state of health of Mr. Page, member for Oxford University, had encouraged amongst the Speaker's friends an expectation that he might, if proposed, be elected to that honourable position. The Speaker's own feelings on this subject are shown in the following extract from a communication addressed by him on the 20th April, to a distinguished member of the University:—"In a conversation which I had on Monday with Mr. Page, he informed me that he was so much recovered as not to be disposed to decline the distinction, if the University of Oxford should think proper to confer it, of representing it in parliament. * * * I expressed to him that there was on my part, and on that of my friends, a fixed determination not to interrupt in the slightest degree the unanimity which I hoped would attend his re-election. Nothing, indeed, should induce me to take or encourage any step which could be productive of uneasiness to Mr. Page or Sir William Dolben, or which could be considered an infringement on that punctilio which the University has prescribed and observed, greatly to its own honour, and to that of the person on whom it has fixed its choice." It may here be remarked, not only that the representation of the University was frequently suggested to Mr. Addington as an object to which he might with propriety aspire, but also that it was an honour to which his own wishes decidedly pointed. As no occasion, however, for his coming forward ever presented itself which was not, in his opinion, liable to some objection, either of propriety or friendship, he continued to represent Devizes until his elevation to the peerage in 1805. A dissolution deprived him of his seat and

office on the 20th of May; and though his own re-election cost him no anxiety, we find from the correspondence that he took a lively interest in the fate of his friends. His brother Hiley, who had been returned for Wendover towards the close of the last parliament, was now re-elected for that borough in conjunction with Mr. Canning, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Bragge, was returned to parliament, for the first time, as member for Bristol. His friend, Mr. Rolle, having been raised to the peerage, in acknowledgment of his manly and persevering support of the King's government, the vacancy was supplied, without opposition, by Sir Lawrence Palk, a gentleman professing the same politics, who continued to represent the county of Devon, in conjunction with Mr. Bastard, for several successive parliaments.

The period has now arrived for mentioning Mr. Charles Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester, who, by his learning and ability in the office which Mr. Addington at present occupied, subsequently attained to great distinction. The intimacy which subsisted between these parties until the termination of Lord Colchester's life, in 1832, appears to have commenced about this time by the former, who was member of parliament for Helston, having consulted the latter on a proposition he had submitted to parliament, for "the revisal of expired and expiring laws, and the improvement of the defective system then practised in the promulgation of the statutes." Mr. Abbot states in his diary that on the 14th of March he had, by appointment, a long conference on this subject with the Speaker, who expressed much approbation of his suggestions, as contained in the papers he had submitted to him for his perusal; and asked if he had

any particular idea of bringing forward the subject immediately. To this Mr. Abbot replied, that "he should be happy in every part of the matter to be governed wholly by the Speaker's directions, as it could not possibly be in better hands; but that he thought the expiring laws should be investigated that session." In consequence of this, a committee was appointed, of which, as is usual on such occasions, Mr. Abbot was the moving and laborious member. The result of this step was a report, which, with the minutes, Mr. Abbot submitted to Mr. Addington on the 3d of June. Shortly after the meeting of the new parliament, Mr. Abbot resumed the subject in a letter to the Speaker, dated Oct. 15th, from which the following extracts are given, for the purpose of affording some idea of the difficulties with which that gentleman was not afraid to grapple: —

"With respect to the single consideration of temporary laws, I am not aware that there remains any thing to be done beyond what was comprised in the report, except that every annual committee upon expiring or expired laws should be instructed to complete the registers annexed to that report, by entering the variations and additions which the passing of subsequent laws may have made necessary. With this view I have accordingly drawn up the form of such a report for the present session, hoping that it may serve as a standing precedent for future committees, and insure regularity hereafter. It is, however, to the promulgation of the statutes that I have chiefly turned my thoughts. Its defective state was noticed in the former report, and has, I believe, in some degree engaged the public attention. Upon this subject, therefore, I have endeavoured to devise such a mode as might render the promulgation most effectual without prejudicing any private rights, or enhancing the public expense.

"I remain, &c. &c.

"CHARLES ABBOT."

The further progress of this important reform is thus described in Mr. Abbot's diary, which has been most obligingly submitted to the author by the present Lord Colchester:—"October 26th. The Speaker told me in the House that he wished my report to have the direct countenance of ministers, and that he would mention the matter also to Mr. Fox, that it might have the concurrence of both sides of the House. He wished the motion for promulgation not to be limited, as regarded expense, conceiving that it tended to degrade the measure. * * * He wished the whole matter of the statutes to be carried through with dignity and effect. * * * Oct. 30th, I went to the Speaker to-day by appointment. We went through the whole of my report upon the promulgation of the statutes word by word. * * * We also fully discussed the importance and difficulty of a general revision of the statutes. The Speaker pressed me to prosecute it strenuously, and urged that the whole must depend upon me, and that if it were not done now it never could be looked for." The result of these deliberations was, that on the 4th November, Mr. Abbot obtained the appointment of a committee to suggest measures, as he observed in his speech, "for giving our laws an expeditious, extensive, and effectual publicity;" that the committee made a favourable report, which was followed up by the House with an address to the throne; that a new plan for selecting and printing was adopted, by which an annual saving of 14,000*l.* was effected, and that an improved mode of promulgating the statutes was introduced, which is still in use, and was extended to Ireland in 1801. These proceedings

deservedly brought Mr. Abbot into notice, and were probably the remote cause of his being afterwards selected to fill the chair of the House.

The crisis of the war was now approaching, and, notwithstanding the auguries of success in which Mr. Pitt and the Speaker still indulged, eagerness for peace on almost any terms was evidently increasing; and the letters of the period, especially those of Mr. Hatsell and Mr. Bramston, reveal the approach of that financial embarrassment which reached its height in the year 1797. Mr. Hatsell writes thus on the 27th of July:—

"I am glad to hear Mr. Pitt is in spirits, and hope, for all our sakes, he will find means to extricate himself before the meeting of parliament from the difficulties which surround him. * * * 'The scarcity of money in the city, and the depression of our finances for the last quarter, are very alarming. Should the same distress continue, Mr. Pitt will be compelled to make peace, *or to give way to others who can do it;* and I shall be very glad to find that the French government are sincere in the pacific disposition which their late message insinuates.' I copy this from the letter of a friend, and my apprehensions are, lest from necessity and additional difficulties, these sentiments should become general. I believe I so expressed myself before, at the time of the fall of Robespierre, when it appeared to me that an opportunity did occur, of trying what might be done by pacific offers. There is hardly an event that has happened in Europe for the last two centuries, where the good expected from it by one party, or the evil apprehended by the other, has been such as the wisest politicians foretold or foreboded. For these reasons, I do not fear the consequences of what is called a bad peace. I continue to approve of our having gone to war. I think the end proposed, the destruction of all the mischievous doctrines of the French, has been accomplished. We have been, in other respects, not by our own fault, but by the

defection of our allies, baffled and discomfited: we must now, therefore, look to our own safety, and not by overstraining our powers assist the attempts of our enemies."

The only encouraging circumstance at this time was the prospect of an abundant harvest, which was thus alluded to in the first instance by Lord Bridport; —"The country carries the smiles of approaching plenty;" and was subsequently fully confirmed by Mr. Hatsell;—"The grain is getting on very fast and fine. I intend to suggest to the Bishop of London, the propriety of having, a fortnight hence, a thanksgiving prayer for this restoration of plenty, and for the change of situation, in this respect, from what we were in last year at this time. It might be ordered in council when the ministers go to Weymouth, if it should then be justified by the circumstances of the harvest."

On the approach of the day appointed for the assembling of the new parliament, we find Mr. Addington, as on the former occasion, inquiring for some influential member to propose him to the house as Speaker. He addressed his application to Lord Frederick Campbell, whose obliging acquiescence was conveyed, on the 2d August, in the following words: —"Great is the pleasure, my dear sir, of complying with the wishes of a friend; my little bark shall be ready 'to pursue the triumph and partake the gale.'" Before, however, we relate the fulfilment of this engagement, there are several intervening letters to be noticed. The first, bearing the date of August 4th, was written by Lord Hood, who had now been placed in ordinary as Governor of Greenwich Hospital. "I am very much out of spirits with the times, although

they are not a jot worse in Italy than you know I long since predicted. My wishes and prayers will ever be for Great Britain's glory, which is all I have to offer in my present situation, thrown upon the shelf as useless. It is exceedingly to be lamented that Mr. Pitt should give up his judgment (which is great beyond example) to that of men who act from whim, caprice, and resentment, without due regard and attention to the public weal. Sir John Jervis, unwilling to part with my friend Nelson, who has worn out the Agamemnon, has contrived to open the Captain for him. I have lately had a letter from him respecting Sir Gilbert Elliot's management in Corsica. That island must fall whenever our fleet is obliged to withdraw from the upper part of the Mediterranean; and should that measure become necessary, I hope and trust that every Englishman will be embarked, and not left to be sacrificed. God forbid we should take half measures. Either strengthen and defend the island, or abandon it in time." The next letter, from the pen of Mr. Pitt, is dated

"Wimbledon, August 15th.

"I am much obliged to you," he observes, "for your letter and for the enclosure, which I return. They fortified very much an opinion which all the information I have lately received, and my own reflections, had already very much fixed. On the whole subject I wish much to talk with you fully, and therefore rejoice you are coming soon to town. I shall be happy to meet you any day either there or at Hollwood, and more especially the latter, where we should have much more leisure for such a subject. When you have settled your time at all precisely, pray let me know, and I will fix my engagements accordingly. If you can give me a day at Hollwood, I will repay it very soon at Woodley." Ever yours,

"W. PITT."

The above letter was followed, August 28th, by another, in which Mr. Pitt says, "I find that I must make my visit to Lord Carrington one day later than I intended, which will postpone my return till Wednesday; but from dinner-time that day, inclusive, I am at your disposal for the rest of the week. No fresh news." In a letter which Mr. Addington addressed to his brother on the 28th of August allusion is made to the preceding letters; but the subject upon which Mr. Pitt so anxiously desired a conference remains a matter of conjecture. "I have had," he writes, "two or three most *satisfactory* letters from Pitt since I saw you. You will perfectly understand what I mean by that epithet, if you recollect our conversations with respect to foreign and domestic politics. The country detests mystery and languor, and if there is but explicitness and exertion, all will do well."

The next letter on the file, bearing date Sept. 4th, was from Lord Mornington, who after stating that, "in consequence of the death of Lord Mansfield *, he had written to Mr. Pitt merely to express his hope that an opportunity may now occur of promoting him," proceeds as follows: —

"My wish undoubtedly would be to go to the House of Lords; but I have not said more to Pitt than what I have mentioned above, thinking that it did not become me to enter into any detail with him in this stage of the business. I am well persuaded that if any occasion should offer, I shall have your assistance; at the same time I should do injustice to

* His Lordship was President of the Council, and was succeeded in that office by the Earl of Chatham.

my own feelings, if I did not declare that I rely so much upon Pitt as to think the application of my other friends unnecessary. * * * The prospects of the war are become too interesting and too dreadful to be discussed in the compass of a letter. I will only say that I hope in God this country will make the actual preparations to resist invasion before the moment of confusion shall arrive; and I must add a most anxious hope that government will instantly make preparations for the defence of Ireland. I know that Lord Camden thinks Ireland has been neglected: I would not vex Pitt at such a moment by telling him so; but Camden has written to that effect to me within this last week. Without being prejudiced by the deep stake I have in the safety of Ireland, I think I may say that to neglect the defence of *that* country is to insure the conquest of this, with all its attendant horrors of revolution and pillage. A revolution in Ireland would be the infallible consequence of the landing even of a small French force in that country; and I leave it to you to judge what sort of a neighbour Ireland would become in such a state. I assure you that my stomach is remarkably well.

My gloomy apprehensions are the offspring of serious and deliberate reflection; and my great fear is a blow in Ireland, before sufficient preparation has been made for our defence in that most vulnerable, and at the same time mortal part. Believe me, dear Mr. Speaker, ever yours most sincerely,

"MORNINGTON."

All the remaining correspondents of the period coincided with Lord Mornington in lamenting the awful nature of the approaching crisis. It appears, however, from the following note, dated "Downing Street, Sept. 6th," that *he*, around whose devoted head these storms were gathering, remained still buoyant in hope, and indomitable in spirit.

"I have just time to tell you that we have accounts through Berlin (which seem quite authentic), of a victory gained by the Archduke on the 22d over Jourdan, in which

the French lost great numbers and thirty pieces of cannon. The consequences may possibly (if no strange reverse happens) prove of infinite importance. This, added to the message from the Directory, a good deal improves our picture. Stocks have risen again to day one and a half per cent., on a report of Hammond's being gone to Paris. The news of the victory was not known. Every thing went most smoothly at Weymouth, and the letter is sent to-day to ask for a passport.

"Ever yours,

"W. PITT."

On the 13th of September the Speaker announced to his brother the marriage, on the preceding Saturday, of James Adams, Esq., to Miss Hammond, only surviving sister of Mrs. Addington: —

"The wedding day," he adds, "was passed very joyously at Greenwich, and Lord Hood was of the party. * * * Lord and Lady Chatham came here yesterday in their way from Weymouth, and left us this morning. Between ourselves, I think it possible that Lord C. may succeed Lord Mansfield, as president of the council. This would set every thing to rights, and I think would in all respects be a very proper appointment. Poor Burke, after whom you inquire, looked ill; but from what I heard, I incline to think that he overrates his danger.* Windham expressed great pleasure on hearing that you were better. He was with Burke at Bath, and is now a greater alarmist than any one I have met with, respecting the probability and peril of an invasion. I was more inclined to agree with him a month ago than at present, though I still think that no degree of precaution or preparation should be spared."

The next letter, dated Wednesday, September 21st, was written by the premier, and shows, not only his attention to minute points, but also how much the proceedings of the government depended at that time upon the events of the passing moment: —

* This unfortunately was not the case: Mr. Burke was even at that time in a very weak and declining state.

"No answer," he observes, "being yet returned from France to the application which was sent Thursday fortnight for a passport, and the prospect of affairs happily improving from day to day by the continued and increasing successes of the Archduke Charles, it becomes an object to defer the delivery, if not the composition, of the King's speech to as late a day as will be consistent with parliament's meeting at the day fixed, and entering on business as soon as the necessary forms of swearing are finished. The swearing, I observe, has generally taken four days; and though the King's speech has usually been made the second day, immediately after approving the Speaker, it has not been taken into consideration till the fifth. No real delay would be occasioned to business if the speech was not made till the day on which it can be debated. I do not see, therefore, why the course should not be, to approve the Speaker on Wednesday, and defer opening the causes of calling the parliament till Monday. If it can be so settled, the convenience would be very great indeed. * * * On all this I am anxious to learn your opinion. The idea only occurred yesterday evening, and as time presses I send this by a messenger. We have accounts yesterday, through Holland, which seem authentic, of the Archduke's having gained another great victory over the remains of Jourdan's army near Ehrenbreitstein. I really trust he has only to return and dispose of Moreau in the same manner. Richery's squadron has got to Newfoundland.

"W. P."

These consultations were obviously indicative of the approaching meeting of the new parliament, which assembled on the 27th of September, and immediately proceeded to the election of a speaker. Mr. Addington was proposed by Lord Frederick Campbell, member for Argyleshire, who, after describing the importance of the office, observed as follows: — "Fortunately there is a gentleman returned to this parliament, who, year after year in that chair, has shown that he is able to instruct the wisest, and ready to assist the

weakest; who in that chair has shown a mind as independent as his fortune, a temper not to be ruffled, a firmness not to be shaken, sure presages of rigid uniform impartiality." Mr. Powys, the seconder, expressed his approbation of the motion in terms equally complimentary; and General Tarleton declared, in a few friendly expressions, the hearty concurrence of the opposition. The late Speaker therefore was reconducted to the chair with the approbation of the whole House, which was warmly responded to without doors. In manifestation of the feeling which prevailed on this occasion, an extract will here be given from a letter addressed to the Speaker by Sir Grey Cooper, Bart., formerly representative of the city of Rochester, and secretary of the Treasury under the coalition ministry: —

"Dear Sir, Worlington, Oct. 1st.

"You will, I trust, pardon this effusion of the heart of an old ex-member of parliament, whom you honour with your favour, sending you his sincere congratulations on your being chosen a third time to fill the chair in so very honourable and distinguished a manner. All was as it should be; the order and form of proceeding was well and duly observed, but *the truth is, that you were called to the chair by acclamation;* and you had the supreme satisfaction of learning the history of your former conduct from the voices of the first assembly in the world. I am, &c. &c.

"GREY COOPER."*

In the speech from the throne on the 6th of October, his Majesty announced to parliament that a way having been opened for a direct negotiation for peace, it was his intention immediately to despatch a person

* Sir Grey Cooper died in 1801.

to Paris with full powers to treat for that object. His Majesty then observed, that the best mode of giving effect to negotiations was to demonstrate that the country possessed both determination and resources to continue the war with vigour, and to repel any attempt of the enemy, now openly threatened, to effect a descent on her coasts. His Majesty next alluded to the success of the Austrian arms on the Rhine as tending to counterbalance the reverses which they had sustained in Italy, and to the hostile dispositions recently manifested by the court of Spain; and he concluded with a slight reference to temporary financial embarrassments, and with congratulations on the abundance of the recent harvest, which had removed all apprehension of scarcity.

The next letter, addressed by the Speaker to his brother on the 20th of November, alludes to Lord Malmesbury's negotiation for peace, then tardily proceeding in Paris: — "Pitt has just left me, and is to be here again this evening. It is evident that the people are satisfied with the conduct of our government, and very much otherwise with that of their own: quod erat optandum."

Whilst the semblance of negotiation was thus enacted, France was preparing to level a blow against this country, the most dangerous and formidable which could possibly have been inflicted. Her project of invasion was no longer preserved as a secret; and throughout the autumn the French ports on the Channel had resounded with the din of preparation. Ireland was the destined scene of invasion; and it appears, as well from the letter of Lord Mornington already recited, as from the following sentence ad-

dressed at this time by Lord Camden to the Speaker, that had the expedition effected a landing, and General Hoche and his 20,000 veterans once established themselves in Ireland, the consequences would have been formidable indeed. "I look," his Lordship says, "to the Austrians making a separate peace, and to our having the whole weight of France, assisted by Spain, upon us; and if they come to this country, they will meet with very sufficient encouragement." Most providentially there was no opportunity of testing the adequacy of the preparations made for resistance, as the armament was frustrated, not of man, but of God. The elements, in their courses, fought against the invaders; and no sooner had the ill-fated fleet under Admiral Bouvet, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, fifteen frigates, and eighteen transports, sailed from Brest on the 18th of December, than it encountered a succession of violent gales similar to those which had proved so fatal to Admiral Christian's fleet in the preceding year. Some of the vessels, whilst struggling to beat to windward, were wrecked; others were taken, or driven on shore by our cruisers; and the whole were so scattered, that the French admiral could only collect ten or twelve sail in Bantry Bay, and about the same number at the mouth of the Shannon. After in vain, therefore, awaiting for a whole week, in the former roadstead, the arrival of the commander-in-chief, General Hoche, he at length sailed for Brest, which he reached in a miserable condition, early in the month of January. These particulars have been collected from a series of letters addressed to the Speaker by Major Francis Gore, military secretary to the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

In the first letter, dated Dublin Castle, December 26th, the Major states that "an express from General Dalrymple, at Cork, gives an account of a strange fleet having been seen on the 22d beating to the eastward, and endeavouring to work into Bantry Bay. The troops," he adds, "are moving in the highest spirits, and Lord Camden is acting with that coolness and resolution which becomes a man in his high situation. * * * In the capital every thing remains perfectly quiet; in the south, where the enemy are expected, but one spirit of loyalty and exertion in the common cause seems to prevail. * * * Our accounts from the north, however, are not of a very pleasant nature; a meeting had been held at Belfast of some thousands, who formed committees to draw up resolutions." The next letter, dated December 29th, reported that "Captain Gordon, aide-de-camp to General Dalrymple, had arrived with a lieutenant of a French man-of-war, who was taken in a boat endeavouring to land in Bantry Bay, and that seventeen sail of ships were then at anchor off the lower part of Bear Island." The next letter, dated January 2d, 1797, states that "an express from General Dalrymple had just brought information that five sail of French ships of war had entered Bantry Bay on the 30th of December, and were still at anchor near Niddy Island, and that four more of the enemy's ships were beating up the Bay, of which one had lost her topmast." At length, on the 4th of January, Major Gore reported the final departure of the enemy in the following terms:—"The enemy's ships left Bantry Bay on the 2d; it is reported also that the nine sail have left the Shannon, and were seen steering north-west. This last report

is this instant confirmed by an express from General Smith at Limerick. A twenty-four gun-ship is taken and brought into Cork. A transport, with 600 men, was run down at sea by one of their own ships, and every soul but five perished." In addition to these losses, the Droits de l'Homme, eighty gun-ship, with 1750 men on board, on her return to Brest, was engaged for eight hours in the night of the 13th of January, by the frigates Indefatigable and Amazon, commanded by Sir Edward Pellew and Captain Reynolds, and at length driven on shore, and totally destroyed, in Hodierne Bay. Thus was the United Kingdom providentially rescued from the only serious invasion which has been attempted against it in modern times. Nor were the Speaker's correspondents insensible to the source from whence this deliverance was derived. In the words of the worthy Dean of Waterford, "The goodness of Providence to us has exhibited a second armada." "Once more," wrote Lord Rivers, "afflavit Deus, et dissipantur."*

Much discontent is expressed in some of the letters at the Irish coast having been left wholly unprotected by our fleets for so long a period as seventeen days, in consequence of Admiral Colpoys having been unable to follow the French fleet, when it sailed on the 18th of December, for want of water and provisions; whilst Lord Bridport, instead of being off Ushant at that date, was lying at Spithead, not even ready for sea, although it was known that the French were prepared for a start, and the wind had been easterly

* The motto on the medals struck to commemorate the defeat of the Spanish armada.

for several days. It is now idle to speculate what would have been the result had the elements permitted the enemy's forces to land, as they otherwise might readily have done on the 24th; but the crisis, at all events, would have been tremendous. With this signal deliverance ended the disastrous year of 1796.

The first event of the new year was the return of Lord Malmesbury from Paris after his insulting dismissal by our haughty and arrogant foe. This disappointment, however, by no means dispirited the minister, who, on the 21st of January, wrote to the Speaker in his usual sanguine and dauntless strain:— "You will be hardly surprised," he observed, "but very glad to hear, that Lord Cornwallis, in consequence of the difficulties in India, has at once agreed, like himself, to return thither immediately for another year, in order to complete the settlement respecting the army, and whatever else is important. This is no small relief on a point on which I could not help feeling much anxiety." *

On the 31st of December the parliament had been adjourned to the 14th of February, a respite highly conducive to the restoration of the Speaker's health, which had suffered considerably from his long and close confinement to the chair. Mr. Pitt passed a large portion of the interval at Walmer, where, however, little opportunity of relaxation was afforded him, as the financial and other difficulties of the country had accumulated to

* The reader will find that this arrangement did not after all take place, and that Lord Mornington eventually received the appointment.

an extent which required his utmost attention. When announcing to the Speaker his intention of going to Walmer, he observed, "Meanwhile I will write to you as fully as I can respecting public prospects, and particularly finance, on which, as the essential point, I have been lately working most." Of the fulfilment of the above promise unfortunately no epistolary proof remains; but probably this was the period to which Lord Sidmouth alluded in the following statement, which many years afterwards he made to the author:—"Pitt told me, as early as 1797, that I must make up my mind to take the government." The next letter, dated February 4th, which the Speaker received from Hollwood, was written on the arrival of intelligence of Bonaparte having defeated, with great slaughter, the fifth attempt of the Austrians to relieve Mantua; and certainly the following passage breathes a much less sanguine tone than Mr. Pitt was accustomed to employ:—"You will, of course, see Bonaparte's letter in the True Briton of to-day: the Morning Chronicle contains a letter from Berthier much more detailed: they both seem much exaggerated, and the latter very confused; but I am afraid it cannot be doubted, that the Austrians have suffered most severely, though I do not quite give up the hope, that they may have in part effected throwing reinforcements and supplies into Mantua; and in that case, even yet, things may not be desperate on the side of Italy." Things, however, *were* desperate on that and every other side. On the 2d of February, Mantua surrendered; and on the 18th of April the Emperor, our only remaining ally, was compelled to sign a preliminary treaty of peace, on

terms dictated by the conqueror; and thus was England, though the last of the banded powers of Europe, to commence the war, left alone, to defend, as she best could, the cause of authority, justice, and established government. The correspondence contains no record of the manner in which the confirmation of this intelligence was received by Mr. Pitt; but its effect upon the Speaker is forcibly shown in the following reply to his brother, who, on writing to borrow a horse, communicated to him the first intelligence of the capture of Kehl, and of the separate peace between France and Austria: — "Take my horse and what you please, for you have nearly put an end to my life."

The earliest existing letter that was addressed to the Speaker by that manly politician, accomplished scholar, and high-minded English gentleman, Mr. Windham, was written on this same occasion.

Mr. Windham's aversion to any approach towards accommodation with revolutionary France subsequently placed him in active opposition to Mr. Addington's administration. The letter, however, which is now to be presented, expresses the most perfect accordance between those upright and manly statesmen.

"Dear Sir, Bath, Feb. 6th, 1797.

"I had actually written a letter to you, proposing, in case of your being at home and disengaged, to have the pleasure of dining with you; but the fear of being detained in London, by some unforeseen accident, made me forbear to send it, and unwillingness afterwards to call upon you on a sudden, so late in the day as the time at which I found myself opposite to Woodley, made me turn the unwilling steeds another way, and resign an opportunity which I had much counted upon,

and which, I fear, it will be difficult to replace in my return to London. Mr. Burke, to whom I shall deliver your obliging message, is as well as I had any reason to expect, and so far better, that his physician does not appear to think so ill of him as most of those whom he had consulted, or who had been consulted about him, in London. It is, however, a very ambiguous and a very doubtful case; and cannot fail to cause much anxiety to all who, like yourself, feel the respect due to his virtues and talents, and the value of his life, at a crisis of human affairs such as the present. This crisis, by the last dreadful accounts, becomes more and more alarming. It is plain that as long as the enemy *can* go on they will never abandon their schemes of universal empire, and, as part of that scheme, their views for the destruction of this country. If the republic subsists, this country must, in my opinion, be ultimately destroyed. The existence of a republic in France, on the principles on which this has been established, and will continue to act, does not seem to me to be compatible with the continuance of monarchies in countries adjoining; but they wish the destruction of this country beyond that of all others, and upon motives that apply to every feeling of their minds, old or new. I do not say that it is impossible that peace may be made with the republic, and yet this country not be undone, because peace and the continuance of the republic may not be the same thing. It is the final compatibility of the two — that is, of a republic in France and a monarchy here — that seems to me so impossible. The inference to be drawn from this opinion, supposing the opinion itself to be admitted, may be disputable. It may be said that the prospect of destroying the republic by war is less than of its falling to pieces of itself in peace, or that, at all events, our own chance of preservation by peace is better than by attempting longer to maintain the war. My opinions are not yet altered upon that subject, even if peace, on the best terms on which we have ever hoped to have it, were in our power: but, in fact, all discussion seems likely to be spared upon that point, for the enemy will not give us peace. It is a *bellum internecinum*, whether we will or no; and since it now appears, as it might have done always, that a fleet can-

not protect us against invasion; and as the rampart formerly established for our protection in the royalist armies is now levelled with the ground, they will transfer this war, whenever a separate peace with the Emperor, or great success against his armies, shall leave them at liberty, to be carried on upon our own shores. Fatal would seem to be that error which supposed that there could be any compromise with this power, and that we could at any time purchase a peace by the sacrifice of part of our possessions. In this hope we pursued conquests with the sacrifice of our army; but the conquests, so far as they were made, having failed to effect the purpose intended by them, we now find ourselves in the deplorable state of being obliged to fight after our weapons are gone: the war continues, but we have no longer an army. If all this would animate us to right sentiments, and inspire us with what I cannot but think right opinions; if it would be the means of putting the war upon its proper footing, and make us join hand and heart in co-operating with those of the interior of France, to overturn this system; then, indeed, I should think that good might grow out of this evil; but as I have no such expectation, I can only view the present state of things with very despondent feelings, and yield myself up with a sort of blind insensibility to the fate that seems to await us. Yours, dear Sir, very truly,

"W. WINDHAM."

The parliament assembled after the recess, on the 14th of February, the day on which the British fleet, by defeating the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent, and driving them into Cadiz, inflicted the first withering stroke on the well-conceived plan of the French government, to procure a temporary naval superiority, for the invasion of England, by uniting the French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets. On the 24th of February, the Speaker was called upon to act on an occasion of a somewhat unusual and difficult nature, the circumstances of which will be narrated in the words of

Mr. Abbot. "In the House of Commons, the order of the day was for going into a committee upon the Quaker's bill. The Speaker's leaving the chair was opposed, and a division took place; thirty-three for it, and thirty-three against it: the Speaker accordingly voted, and gave his vote for going into the committee, assigning, as his reason, that he had prescribed to himself an invariable rule of voting for the further discussion of any measure which the House had previously sanctioned, as, in this instance, it had, by having voted for the second reading, but that upon any question which was to be governed by the merits, as, for instance, 'That this bill do now pass,' he should always give his vote according to his judgment, and state the grounds of it."

The great financial crisis of the war was now at hand. It was not without reason that Mr. Pitt had called the state of the finances "the essential point," for by this time the abstraction of the metallic currency by continental subsidies; the pressure of loans required by the government; and the general demand for specie, occasioned by the dread of invasion, and the consequent inducement to hoard, had so exhausted the funds of the Bank of England, that, on the 9th of February, the Governor was instructed to inform the Minister, that "any further advances to government would probably oblige the directors to close their doors." Under these alarming circumstances, the ministry, on the 26th of February, passed an order of council prohibiting the Bank from issuing any cash in payment, until the sense of parliament could be taken on the subject, and on the following day they submitted the whole question to both Houses, in the usual manner, by

a message from the Crown. The subjoined letter undated, but evidently written at this conjuncture, shows Mr. Pitt's anxiety to obtain the Speaker's assistance in concerting measures to weather this terrific storm.

"Downing Street, Saturday, half-past five.

"I wish much to have some conversation with you about the present state of credit, on which some step must, I believe, be taken, to revive courage and confidence, and to prevent the farther extent of the present mischief. The Chancellor, Grenville, and Dundas, and the Attorney and Solicitor General, are to be with me on the subject, between eight and nine this evening, and I am not without hopes that we may arrange a plan for the purpose. If you see no objection to coming to such a meeting, I should be very glad, that you should hear what occurs on the business; or if you like it better, you would probably find me alone about ten to-night, or early to-morrow morning. If the idea which has been suggested is adopted, it must be brought forward soon in the House. Yours ever,

"W. P."

The date of a second letter is sufficiently denoted by the allusions it contains to the finance committee which was appointed on the 1st of March, and to Mr. Harrison's notice, that, "on the 7th of March, he would move for a committee to consider of a mode for reducing the public expenditure, by a retrenchment of offices, and sinecure places."

"Wednesday noon.—The finance committee is, I think, in good train; but I wish for a little more conversation with you on the appointment of the committee to inquire into the causes, and on the mode of meeting or forestalling Harrison's motion. I have no engagement, except a meeting on dollars at one, which may probably last an hour, and should be very glad to see you, or come to you, whenever it suits you best."

It is pleasing to find the subject of this biography

thus consulted on all important questions by the most eminent of modern prime ministers; nor is it less gratifying to observe, how instrumental he was in conveying the sentiments of a wide circle of influential correspondents to the ears of Mr. Pitt. The value of his service in this respect is very happily described in the following expression from a letter addressed to him about this time by the Dean of Waterford: — "News from Ireland will not be unacceptable to one so deeply interested in the public welfare, *and through whom the minutest intelligence finds its way to the great reservoir of wisdom upon which all depend.*" In addition to the drafts already made on "the great reservoir" during this disastrous spring, a yet more formidable demand arose on the part of that arm which had hitherto been the chief support of the war — the British navy, now in open mutiny. This subject is alluded to for the purpose of introducing a letter from Sir Edward Knatchbull, which appears to furnish an apposite illustration of the manner in which useful information was communicated to the government, through the instrumentality of the Speaker.

"My dear Sir, Head Quarters, Faversham, 12th June.

"This day we have only taken one sailor: I have sent him to Sheerness. The greatest trouble we have is with some of the revenue sailors, who abuse us so severely, that I have much to do to keep my troopers quiet. The second mate of the Active cutter was this day bound over to keep the peace, and I have written to the Board of Customs to have him discharged. I now send you an account of Sheerness at three o'clock this day. You may rely upon my correctness.

"Yours, &c. E. KNATCHBULL."

Red Flag.		*Proper Colours.*	
Montague,	Belliqueux and Director moored on the bow and quarter of the Sandwich, to sink her if occasion requires.	Swan,	Proserpine,
Inflexible,		Isis,	Agamemnon,
Champion,		Lion,	Hound,
Sandwich,		Standard,	Pylades,
Ticiphone,		Comet,	Monmouth,
Brilliant.		Vestal,	Grampus,
		Nassau,	Ranger.

The insubordination of the fleets at Portsmouth and at the Nore has become unfortunately but too notorious; but the author was not aware of the extent to which disorganisation had proceeded at Plymouth, or of the heroic conduct of Lord Keith, until he read the following report to the Speaker from the pen of Mr. Bastard, colonel of the South Devon Militia, and representative of that county in parliament.

"Plymouth Dock, July 16th.

"Lord Keith, on his arrival, acted with a firmness and resolution that instantly restored subordination to the ships, and from that moment things have borne the most tranquil appearance. We receive the same accounts from Lord Bridport's fleet in Torbay, and from all I hear and see spirit and energy have had their full effect. I wish I could give as good an account of the marines: their officers, however, are attentive and determined, and from that circumstance every thing will end as it ought, without any thing appearing to the public eye; but the truth is, there are about 200 of them whom it is not deemed prudent to intrust with arms. * * * Lord Keith went on board the Saturn, and gave the crew his opinion of their conduct, telling them, that if they surrendered fourteen of the ringleaders he should be satisfied, but if they did not, he had a list of fifty. After an appearance of crowding on him, and a threat from him to run the first man through who stirred, fourteen men were delivered up to him, and immediately put in irons. I cannot help observing that the general opinion is that execution or pardon should immediately follow the sentence, and that it is lamented

that the Saturn's people were not ordered to be tried as soon as possible after the Admiralty knew that they were subdued. I would not have made this remark if I did not know how much you interest yourself about what so essentially concerns the country."

Whilst the evil spirit of anarchy and revolution was thus running its mad career, Mr. Burke, the great champion of the antagonist principle, breathed his last on the 8th of July, in the 68th year of his age. He was buried, where he died, at Beaconsfield; and the Speaker, who justly felt proud at having enjoyed, in some degree, the confidence of so extraordinary a man, had the honour to act as one of the pall-bearers on that occasion. Amongst the numerous friends of the departed statesman, no one more deeply and feelingly lamented him than his early admirer and political pupil, Mr. Windham; who, fourteen years after Mr. Burke's death, and but one before his own, addressed to Lord Sidmouth, from the house which had once been the favourite residence of their common friend, the following brief, but grateful, tribute to his memory:—"I am writing from the very same chair and off the same desk whence issued the wisdom, which, if timely attended to, would have saved the world from half the calamity, at least, under which it is now suffering."

The despondency which pervaded the nation at the period when Mr. Burke's great intellect took its flight, is strongly indicated in all the letters received by the Speaker, excepting those of Mr. Pitt, which still breathed the language of confidence. It will now be seen, however, that for the Minister himself the cup of misfortune was not even yet quite full,

since, in addition to the frustration of those pacific views which had induced him to despatch Lord Malmesbury to Lisle to negotiate with the French government, he was now destined to undergo a domestic loss in the death of his brother-in-law, which affected his health and spirits to an extent which, as Mr. Steele informed the Speaker, occasioned the most serious alarm to his friends.

Mr. Pitt to the Speaker.

"Hollwood, September 20th.

"I am grieved indeed to tell you, and you will I know be grieved to hear, that a return of Eliot's complaint has ended fatally. The account reached me from Cornwall this morning, at a moment when I was quite unprepared for the event. You will not wonder if I do not write on any other subject. Lord Malmesbury is returned on the grounds I expected."

In the next letter, written six days afterwards, Mr. Pitt informed his anxious friend that he had supported the shock better than he could have expected, and by the help of a little care and advice was improved in health.

"I have been employing myself very busily," he adds, "in arranging a war budget, and I hope not without success, if the spirit of the country keeps up, which I trust there is not much reason to doubt. It would be a great satisfaction to me if you could execute your scheme of coming here for a few days, and we might talk over all that is to be talked of. * * * As to every thing public, I am more and more satisfied that I see my way to what is right, safe, and honourable."

Another letter from the same party, dated October 11th, contains the following statement of the Minister's financial labours:—

"I send you enclosed two papers, the contents of which will speak for themselves, and on which I shall much wish to know your sentiments. One is the outline of a scheme of finance in the event of the continuance of the war for one or two years; and I have persuaded myself that it contains nothing that ought to be thought impracticable or even grievous, if the country feels a just sense of its situation, and of the stake depending. The other has perhaps the air of a project, but if it is not quite chimerical, I think infinite good may result from it. Though all this is meditated with a view to war, and though I think that most likely to prove the fact, there is still a faint chance of the prospect changing strangely and suddenly to something much more satisfactory. I am not without expectation of hearing to-morrow something by which I can form a probable guess of the issue. * * * I am just returned from a very fine lounging ride, which pretended to be called shooting; and I am already so much the better for the continuance of Farquhar's prescription, and (what perhaps is more effectual) for the air of Walmer, that I will not despair of having little or no occasion to say any thing about myself. Ever yours,

"W. PITT."

The Speaker, when writing to his brother, alluded to the preceding letters in the following passage:— "From Mr. Pitt I have heard three times since his loss of poor Eliot: what he suffered on that occasion, to use the words of a person who was with him soon after he received the intelligence, was really not to be described. The box of Pandora, you see, is again opened, and jacobinism has once more let slip the dogs of war: as far as I can judge, however, what has lately occurred is felt in this country exactly as could be wished. * * * Sedition, except in cases of real grievance, seldom, I believe never, carries its point, unless encouraged by fear or by a senseless lenity."

The moment had now arrived when the firmness and perseverance of the government were to receive their reward. The victory of Admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet destroyed the combinations on which alone the enemy had founded their hopes of a successful invasion, and revived the drooping energies of the whole British nation. The joyful tidings were conveyed to the Speaker in the following note from his friend the Rev. William Busby, dated "Sheerness, October 13th. Intelligence is just arrived here that Admiral Duncan, 'not having borne his faculties meekly,' has taken no less than nine Dutch line of battle ships, and two admirals!!! And now I think *you* may dismiss Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Pitt *his* physician." The interest of this event was greatly increased by the vicinity of its scene to our own coasts, and by the immediate arrival of the fleet, with its prizes, at the Nore, where it was visited by the Speaker and other persons of distinction; and how must it have gratified their feelings to see the same ships which in that same roadstead had so recently unfurled the red flag of rebellion, now riding triumphant under the banner of England, and rejoicing in the consciousness of having nobly fulfilled their duty. This contrast in their position made a deep impression on the seamen themselves; and when the Speaker visited the wounded in their hammocks, several of those brave men observed, — "We hope, Sir, we have now made atonement for our late offence." But the most striking sight of all was the venerable Duncan himself, whose noble stature and manly bearing, to quote the words of Mr. Steele, "beggared all description. What a glorious fellow," he proceeds, "he is. If you do not know him already,

you will be wonderfully struck when you have the good fortune to fall in his way."

The Speaker having on the 24th of October recorded a few of the particulars of his visit to Sheerness, for his brother's information, his letter is here subjoined: unfortunately no part of his description of Admirals De Winter and Reyntjes is now remembered, except that the former blustered under his defeat with a levity and egotism truly republican, whilst the latter manifested in his misfortune a fixed and stern melancholy, which terminated not long afterwards in his death: —

"In consequence of a letter from Pitt I went to town in the afternoon of Sunday se'nnight, for the purpose of meeting him on his return from Walmer on that day. The party in Downing Street consisted of the Duke of Buccleuch, Dundas, Lord Grenville, Canning, &c. &c. It was my intention to return to Woodley the next day, but having met Captain Fairfax at Dundas's office soon after his arrival, and being assured that Duncan and his fleet were likely to be at the Nore on Tuesday morning, I was prevailed upon to defer my departure; and on Thursday, Charles Long and I went to Sheerness, from whence we proceeded to the Nore on Thursday and Friday, and had the satisfaction of being on board the Repulse, the Victory, the Venerable, and the Monarch: our visit to the two last took place within half an hour after they came to an anchor. The particulars of what passed there, an account of my conversation with De Winter and another Dutch admiral, &c. &c., must be deferred till we meet, which, I hope, will be on the 1st or 2d at latest. My plan and wish respecting you are defeated, as I found, upon going to town, that Bootle had engaged to move, and that Drummond, at his own request, was to second the address."

At this period Lord Mornington had, in the government of India, received an appointment worthy of his genius. He was now, as the subjoined letter

intimates, in the last agonies of departure; yet amidst the labours of preparation his poetic mind was fired, by the glories of Camperdown, to compose a song of triumph, which he left with his friend the Speaker, to be brought forward, as it shortly was, on some occasion of public rejoicing.*

The Earl of Mornington to the Speaker.

"Park Lane, Oct. 14th, 1797.

"Nothing but the unremitting pressure of business of every kind could have justified me in leaving your two kind letters so long unanswered. I trust you are now quite recovered: it was rather too much that you and Pitt should be ill at the same moment. I found him just as you had described him to me, and still more depressed by the death of poor Eliot. He did not disguise to me the state of his health, and I contributed to prevail on him to see Farquhar, who has put him upon a course of medicine from which he has derived much improvement, and he went to Walmer quite a different man. You may depend on my calling at Woodley on my road to Southampton. The day of my departure is not yet fixed, and I fear it cannot take place sooner than Sunday or Monday se'nnight. This is not my fault. I have heard nothing of Pitt since he went to Walmer, but surely the glorious and inestimable victory over the Franco-Dutch must have been a powerful cordial. I knew how you would rejoice in my attainment of the peerage; it was to me an invaluable object, both public and private. Nothing could equal Pitt's kindness on the occasion: you will easily believe that I did not press him with any importunity, however anxious I was for the object. I suppose the door is now shut, not again to be opened — 'with impetuous recoil and jarring sound.'

"Adieu, my dear Mr. Speaker. Ever yours most affectionately,

"MORNINGTON."

* This beautiful composition, which was a great favourite of Lord Sidmouth's to the close of his life, is not here introduced, because it appears in Pearce's Life of Lord Wellesley.

On the second of November the parliament met, and on the 24th of the same month Mr. Pitt brought forward the "war budget," which, as he informed the Speaker, he "was so busily arranging." A leading feature of his "plan of finance" was the raising the assessed taxes from 2,700,000*l.* to 7,000,000*l.*, by trebling the existing payment, so that one carriage would be charged as three, and other articles in the same manner. The Speaker, however, perceived that this plan would not reach all cases, and that there must be many opulent persons whose expenditure, from various circumstances, could not be considered a just criterion either of their ability or their inclination to contribute to the exigencies of the state. He suggested, therefore, when the House was in committee upon the subject on the 4th of December, that "a clause might be beneficially introduced into the bill to give to persons of that description, as well as others, an opportunity of coming forward with a voluntary contribution, in which they should not be confined within the strict limits of their assessments. He had often meditated upon the idea, and felt confident that if this opportunity were given to the country, it would operate with a beneficial effect." This suggestion was speedily followed up: a clause was introduced into the act enabling the Bank to receive the subscriptions of those who desired to increase their assessment by voluntary contribution; and the Speaker was addressed by numerous parties, who authorised him to put down their names in the book kept for that purpose. From these communications it appears that Lord Romney, the Lord Chan-

cellor, Lord Kenyon, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Pitt, and the Speaker, gave each 2000*l.* per annum, and Lord Bridport and Admiral Colpoys 1000*l.*, in lieu of their legal assessments, and that Mr. Manning, Mr. Abbot, Mr. Hatsell and others, doubled the amount of their legal liability, whilst it was shortly afterwards announced that the King himself had graciously contributed for the remainder of the war one third of the whole amount of his privy purse, being 20,000*l.* per annum, to the same patriotic purpose. These subscriptions were considered as covering the amount of assessed taxes, and the parties making them were bound thereby during the continuance of the act, or until the termination of the war. The further progress of this undertaking need not be minutely detailed. It will be sufficient to state that, at the outset, its success exceeded the Speaker's most sanguine expectations. It is difficult to ascertain the precise amount of the subscriptions received, because they were mixed up with the whole sum received under the triple assessment act, and were paid into the Bank of England under the general head of "aid and contribution." Mr. Pitt, however, stated to the House, on the 3d December, 1798, that "the sum arising from the voluntary contributions, including what had been received from all the dependencies of the country, would amount, by the end of the year, to *two millions*." It may here be observed, in the words of Lord Bexley, "that both these modes of filling the Exchequer were discontinued at the close of the following year, being superseded by the income tax, which, although it imposed ten per cent. on all alike,

and although the mode of its assessment under Mr. Pitt's first bill was very imperfect, was felt nevertheless as a positive relief. In truth, the triple assessment was too unequal a burden to be long borne; and even the voluntary payment was found a very heavy charge on the contributors, especially on men in office, who subscribed at the rate of one fifth of their income."

CHAPTER VIII.

1798—1799.

Vigorous Prosecution of the War. The Speaker accepts the Command of the Woodley Cavalry. The corps reviewed by the King. Meeting of Parliament. Party Spirit. Duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney. Rebellion in Ireland. Letters from Major Gore and the Dean of Waterford. Lord Camden succeeded by Marquis Cornwallis in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act. Prorogation of Parliament. Victory of the Nile. The Speaker's Intimacy with Lord Nelson. Mr. Pitt's Health. Letter from him. City Address. Letter from the Speaker to his Brother. Letter from Lord Mornington. Meeting of Parliament. Union with Ireland. Rejected by the Irish House of Commons. Letter from Mr. Windham. System of Concession to the Roman Catholics in Ireland. Opposition of the Irish Speaker to the Union. Letter from the Dean of Waterford. Speech of Mr. Addington on the Irish Union.

THE contumelious dismissal of the British negotiator from Lisle had at length convinced the nation that peace was unattainable, and that its only security against so inveterate an enemy consisted in active preparation and most determined resistance.

"I am thoroughly convinced," the Speaker observed to his brother, on the 12th of February, "that a sense of the real situation of the country is now excited, and that a disposition to exertion, both personal and pecuniary, is rapidly spreading, which will carry us through all our difficulties. Of the manner in which sentiments respecting invasion

were received at the theatre on Friday night it is impossible for me to give you an idea. * * * There is to be a public meeting on Thursday at Canterbury, where the mode of calling out and distributing the strength of the county of Kent in case of a landing by the enemy is to be arranged. Similar measures are to be immediately taken in Essex, Suffolk, and Sussex. I am convinced that adequate exertions are making, and that we are greatly beforehand with the enemy. Sir Horatio Nelson, Sir Edward Pellew, and Sir John Warren, are to command light squadrons, with gunboats, on the coast. * * * I have the comfort of thinking that we shall soon be equal to any struggle to which we may be destined: the proper spirit ripens every day. * * * The enemy's attacks here, I incline to think, will be feints; and that Ireland will be the main object."

A subsequent letter from the Speaker, bearing the date of April the 30th, announced that, yielding to the enthusiasm of the times, he had accepted the command of a troop of cavalry to be raised in the neighbourhood of Reading: —

"It consists," he adds, "of most respectable individuals, who have proposed to provide themselves with arms, accoutrements, &c. &c., and to serve without expense to the public. A deputation, to request that I would take the command, came to me at Woodley yesterday, and having previously considered the subject a good deal, I acquiesced without hesitation."

May 8th. — "The corps is to consist of sixty persons (gentlemen and yeomen). Great care is used in the selection, and I really believe that it will be a most excellent and respectable troop. Golding will be captain lieutenant; *

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* Edward Golding, Esq., was an old and highly attached and respected friend of the Speaker, whose seat, Maiden Erleigh, adjoined Woodley. He died in Lord Sidmouth's house, in Clifford Street, A.D. 1818. Richard Palmer, Esq., of Holme Park, near Reading, and father of Robert Palmer, Esq., now, and for many

Palmer, lieutenant; and perhaps Mr. Harris, Lord Malmesbury's eldest son, cornet. * * * If a second troop should be raised, Lord Radnor proposes to recommend me as major-commandant. So much for military matters, which I should rejoice to talk over with you. My study exhibits a curious scene: the journals are diversified by helmets and sabres; and a book of military tactics is now lying upon my table in close contact with the orders of the day."

The corps thus formed shortly became as remarkable for its efficiency as a military body, as it was for the zeal, spirit, and quality of its members. It supplied the Speaker with an occupation for which his manly spirit and popular manners were peculiarly adapted, and he quickly obtained an influence over the corps, which enabled him to call forth its energies in the most effectual manner.* The letter from Lord Radnor, the lieutenant of Berkshire, announcing the King's acceptance of the Speaker's offer of service, having been preserved, the following sentence from the despatch of Mr. Dundas to his Lordship on the

years, representative of the county of Berks in Parliament, was also a valued friend and neighbour of the Speaker. He died July 26th, 1806.

* That he fulfilled the duties of commander as much to the satisfaction of the corps as to his own, is proved by the fact, that when he desired to resign the command, on his acceptance of the situation of prime minister, he received from the members a gratifying testimonial of their attachment in the shape of an ornamental piece of plate. He was then also so earnestly requested by Mr. Golding and Mr. Palmer, on behalf "of the whole Woodley corps," to retain his personal connection with a body formed under his superintendence, that he could not withhold his assent, and therefore remained in command until the month of December, 1806, when the state of his health occasioned his resignation. The corps itself, under the command, first, of Mr. Golding, and, afterwards, of Capt. Montagu, continued to maintain its reputation until the year 1825, when it was finally disbanded.

occasion, is here extracted from it:—"I should not do justice to the expression of his Majesty's feelings if I were not to assure your Lordship that his Majesty noticed with pointed and peculiar satisfaction the Speaker of the House of Commons coming forward to afford the country at the present crisis the assistance of his personal services, and the benefit of his distinguished example."

The "Woodley cavalry" were reviewed by his Majesty in person in the month of July, 1799, on Bullmarsh Heath, near Reading, and on that occasion the King and Queen, the Dukes of York and Cumberland, and the five princesses, honoured the Speaker and Mrs. Addington, by passing the morning at Woodley, and partaking of a collation prepared in a tent erected on the lawn.

The parliament had met for the despatch of business after the Christmas recess, on the 8th of February; but its proceedings were rendered less interesting than usual by Mr. Fox's having yielded to a feeling of despondency or disappointment unbecoming so great a man, and discontinued his attendance at the debates. His place was supplied by Mr. Tierney, under whose guidance the opposition endeavoured to make up for the diminution in their number, by the increased vehemence of their attacks. Party spirit, indeed, appears to have risen unusually high at this conjuncture; and an event occurred in consequence, which, as the Speaker was materially concerned in it, requires to be circumstantially related. On the 25th of May, Mr. Pitt, on introducing to the House of Commons a bill for an augmentation of 10,000 men to the navy, pursuant to a previous resolution of the House, pro-

posed that it should be passed through its respective stages and be sent up to the House of Lords that same evening; and when Mr. Tierney objected to this precipitancy, he (Mr. Pitt) unguardedly declared that "*no man could oppose it in the manner Mr. Tierney had done, unless it were from a wish to impede the defence of the country.*" Mr. Tierney, on hearing these words, appealed to the Speaker, who said that whatever tended to cast a personal imputation upon a member for words spoken was certainly unparliamentary, and he therefore required the right honourable gentleman to explain his meaning. On being thus called to order, Mr. Pitt said something which savoured of explanation, and with which it is not impossible but that, considering the latitude usually allowed in explaining expressions made use of in the course of parliamentary discussions, Mr. Tierney might have been persuaded to have been satisfied. Mr. Pitt's explanation, however, having afterwards been alluded to by another member, he thought proper, in reply to him, to say, "*I gave no explanation, because I wished to abide by the words I had used.*" Upon this Mr. Tierney withdrew from the House, and on the following day, through the medium of Mr. George Walpole, called upon Mr. Pitt in the manner unfortunately too prevalent on such occasions.

The Speaker was censured at the time, especially by the opposition party, for not having insisted on a more satisfactory explanation from Mr. Pitt, and this was said to be the only occasion on which he had ever erred in judgment, or failed to enforce the authority of the House; and, certainly, it does appear doubtful

whether, in his anxiety lest he should make the matter worse by interference, he exerted his influence sufficiently. Many circumstances, however, with which we are unacquainted might, nay, ought to, have had weight in guiding his decision. Certain it is, that in the subjoined statement of the transaction, which he made to the author of this work in February, 1841, he did not in the slightest degree reflect on himself as having omitted any opportunity of preventing a result which occasioned to him and to the whole House so much anxiety and alarm: —

"On the day afterwards," his Lordship observed, "which was Saturday, I was dining with Lord Grosvenor, when a note was brought me from Mr. Pitt, stating that he had received a hostile message from Mr. Tierney, and wished me to go to him, which I did as soon as the party at Lord Grosvenor's broke up. Mr. Pitt had just made his will when I arrived. He had sent, in the first instance, to Mr. Steele to be his second; but finding that he was absent, he sent next to Mr. Ryder. On the following day I went with Pitt and Ryder down the Birdcage Walk, up the steps into Queen Street, where their chaise waited to take them to Wimbledon Common. Unable to rest, I then mounted my horse, and rode that way. When I arrived on the hill, I knew, from seeing a crowd looking down into the valley, that the duel was then proceeding. After a time I saw the same chaise which had conveyed Pitt to the spot mounting the ascent, and, riding up to it, I found him safe, when he said, 'You must dine with me to-day.' Some one afterwards observed, 'The Speaker knew of the meeting, and ought to have prevented it;' but Lord Chatham remarked that I could not have taken any step so injurious to his family: in fact, as I had received the information from Pitt himself, my interfering would have looked too much like collusion. Lord G. and Mr. W. went to the ground as friends of Mr. Tierney, and remained there all the time."

Such was Lord Sidmouth's own account of the matter in after years; and from his manner of noticing what passed on the night of the altercation, it seems probable that he was not conscious of having committed any error on that occasion; but as regarded his non-interference afterwards to prevent such a breach of the laws of God and man, the author certainly inferred, from his relation of the circumstances, that he was not equally satisfied with himself in that respect; neither had he, in reality, equal reason to be so. Mr. Pitt's biographer has animadverted on the conduct of all the parties concerned in this transaction, and there can be no doubt that his censure was deserved; for the act of which the Speaker was cognizant, however its true character may have been disguised by the code of honour, was a sinful and unlawful act. It must, however, be admitted that his situation was most difficult and embarrassing; for informed, as he had been, by Mr. Pitt himself, he could not have betrayed his friend's secret without incurring his displeasure, and affixing a stigma on his character. After all, probably, this unfortunate affair is chiefly attributable to the highly excited state of feeling prevalent at the time; and it is only paying a just compliment to the improved condition of society to say, that at present such an event, under such public circumstances, could not possibly occur.*

* On passing over the Common in his carriage, upwards of forty years afterwards, Lord Sidmouth pointed out the scene of this duel to the author. It occurred in the hollow beneath the windmill which crowns the Common, and at some little distance to the left of the high road, where it descends the hill towards Kingston, and in which he himself stood awaiting the result.

The correspondence, which, strange to say, does not contain a single allusion to the duel, was, at this time, fully occupied by the rebellion in Ireland, which unhappily broke into action on the 24th of May. The letters of the Dean of Waterford and Major Gore detail the circumstances of this unnatural contest, which, after some partial and temporary successes on the part of the insurgents, was suppressed, though not without much bloodshed, by the military force; and then it was that men learnt to regard the interposition of Providence, in preventing the disembarkation of Hoche and his 20,000 French veterans in December of the preceding year, as a merciful deliverance; for had such a powerful force succeeded in establishing itself in Ireland, a second struggle must have occurred for the destinies of England, of which none could have foreseen the result. Dr. Butson, who remained at his post at Waterford, "enlisting and arraying a corps of 300 mechanics, chiefly Methodists," having described the impressions of the moment in a manner which, it is thought, will be interesting to the reader, a few extracts will be given from his letters at this eventful period: —

"Waterford, May 31st.

"Nothing can exceed the melancholy aspect of this place. The insurgents in our neighbouring county of Wexford are so numerous as to have taken possession of and destroyed the town of Enniscorthy — not a house remaining; men, women, and children murdered and burnt, particularly the clergy. A gentleman has informed me that he saw the bodies of Mr. Hayden, a clergyman past eighty years of age, and of Mr. Nun, a very respectable rector, lying unburied in the street, the day after their entrance, with 400 more dead bodies. Some detachments sent from hence have been defeated: from

one under the command of General Faucett, they took two fieldpieces. The rebels amount to 15 or 16,000; march in a disciplined manner, have a squadron of cavalry, and fire their cannon with precision. These circumstances I give on the authority of officers who have been beaten back. Every tide brings us in boats full of wounded and fugitives. Yesterday the rebels were in possession of Wexford; thus a port is open to the French, but it is a very bad harbour. At New Ross, ten miles from hence, about 1000 troops and some artillery are got together: the insurgents are around Wexford, about twenty-eight miles from thence. As yet, from the spirit of the principal inhabitants and clergy uniting to guard it, this city has not arisen."

The next hurried note was dated "11 o'clock, June 5th. The army and rebels," it states, "are now engaged. The latter, in great force, attacked Generals Johnson and Eustace at Ross. Thousands have been killed. If the rebels take Ross, Waterford must fall." This calamity was happily averted; for the brave troops, after losing 300 of their number, including Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, repulsed the assailants with a very heavy loss of men. The results of this success are described in the Dean's next letter, dated "June 8th. Ross remains in possession of his Majesty's troops. The number of the rebels interred there yesterday amounted to 2081. Their force must have approached 30,000.. Many of them are returning to their farms and cabins, which shows that they have given up the business for the present as desperate. Mrs. Butson has stood her ground during the late alarm almost solely. Many have left this place for Milford."

Captain Gore, in four letters written on the 10th of June and three following days, describes the success

of General Needham at Arklow, and of General Nugent at Ballinahinch, in the north of Ireland, and bestows the highest commendation on the yeomanry, by "whose uncommon exertions he was convinced Dublin had been preserved." He also deplores, in suitable terms, the "many acts of barbarity committed by the insurgents, who, after their defeat at New Ross, massacred 100 of their unhappy prisoners at Wexford, and, when they took Enniscorthy, seized the Protestant inhabitants, shut them into the town-house, and then set fire to it." Captain Gore notices the obstinate resistance of the rebels, who at Arklow advanced within three yards of our artillery; and announces the combined movement of all the detachments towards Wexford, for the purpose of striking a decisive blow before that city, and at once terminating the rebellion. "Lady Camden," he adds, "sailed last evening for England. I need not observe to you, that Lord Camden is perfectly firm." At this period Captain Gore's correspondence terminates; for on the 20th of June, Earl Camden, the period of whose viceroyalty had expired, resigned the government to Marquis Cornwallis only one day before his military arrangements were crowned by the final overthrow of the rebels on Vinegar Hill, by General Lake.

These alarming events in the sister-island naturally gave additional impulse to the preparations making in England against the threatened invasion of the French. The parliament having been prorogued on the 29th of June, after agreeing to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Speaker betook himself to his newly-assumed military duties; it appears, indeed, that the whole country was overspread with

a martial ardour. Mr. Sheridan and others had, much to their honour, given their assistance at this crisis to the government; and all that remained to the few seceders from their parliamentary duties was to watch, in silence and inactivity, the zealous exertions of their countrymen. Even the Universities were not exempt from the general ardour. "In my vicinity to Oxford," writes the good warden of Winchester, "I have heard much of the academical and city corps, the former commanded by your friend Mr. Coker. It is a noble spirit which has animated both. Nor has fame been silent of the Woodley volunteers, under a commander who is not satisfied with devoting eight months of the year to parliamentary debate, but who has so much zeal for public service that he employs the remainder of his time in laborious exertion, 'inter equos equitumque vultus.'"

Nelson was at this time searching the Mediterranean for the French fleet; and Mr. Pitt, when writing on the 11th of July, to offer himself at Woodley for "two or three quiet days," mentioned the expectation of news from that quarter as a reason why he "could not be quite sure of keeping any engagement he might make. * * * My regimen," he proceeds, "continues to succeed, and I am, in almost every respect whatsoever, perfectly well. We have no news, but abundance of tantalising reports from the Mediterranean." Writing on the 27th, he adds upon the same subject, "It seems now impossible that our fleet should not come up with the enemy, but we still may have to wait a week or fortnight for the result. Bonaparte's next object is probably

Candia, and there is reason to believe he expected to reach it in nine or ten days." Writing again on the 8th of August, he expressed a hope "that nothing would prevent his reaching Woodley on the 22d, in order to proceed with the Speaker on their concerted expedition to Burton Pynsent." This object was effected; but unexpected business having compelled Mr. Pitt to shorten his stay in the west, they were unable to return together. At length, on the 26th of September, Mr. Pitt received the long-expected tidings from the mouth of the Nile, which he immediately communicated to his friend at Woodley, accompanied by the following note:—

"Downing Street, September 26.

"I have just time to send you the enclosed bulletin, (vive la Marine Angloise!) and to tell you that we mean, out of precaution, to fix (at the next council) the meeting of parliament for the 6th November, but with every expectation of being able to postpone it till the end of the month. If I do not return to Walmer next week, shall I have a prospect of finding you at Woodley? Ever yours,

"W. P."

What an advantage would have resulted at that time from the present rapid communication with Egypt. Intelligence of Nelson's victory was not received in London until the fifty-seventh day after the event, and even then the account was an imperfect one, since, five days afterwards, Mr. Pitt was still, he said, "very impatient for the particulars." It is almost superfluous to observe with what delight this exploit of England's greatest naval hero was hailed at Woodley. Yielding to his partiality for naval officers, the Speaker had already, at a public

dinner in the preceding year, formed an acquaintance with Nelson, which subsequently ripened into friendship and a close and intimate correspondence.*

The Gazette containing the particulars of the battle was published on the 2d of October, and on the 4th the Speaker thus addressed his brother on the subject:—"I came to town last night. Of the stupendous event that has taken place in the Mediterranean it is almost impossible to say any thing, or to think of any thing else:

'A theme of wonder long and endless praise.'

You may be assured, however, that Bonaparte's plans are frustrated, and that their success was next to impossible, even if the French fleet had remained entire. I have seen many of the intercepted letters, which are full of complaints, chagrin, and despair."

With a view of combining in one place all that relates to the Nile, the letter subjoined was passed over for the moment in which the Speaker congratulated General Simcoe on the King's having said to him at Weymouth, that "If every body had acted as he had done in the American war, it would have had a different termination."

* The Speaker's letters are chiefly irrecoverable; but Nelson's share of the correspondence appears in those valuable and interesting volumes in which Sir Harris Nicolas has convinced mankind that the other mental properties of that wonderful man were not exceeded by his heroism and promptitude on the day of battle. A few brief letters, containing matter of peculiar interest to the Addington family, have been reserved for insertion in their proper place in this biography; but even these, it is hoped, will serve to enrich the subsequent editions of the "Despatches."

"Woodley, Sept. 26.

"I have never received from you a more satisfactory letter than that by which you have informed me of the gracious expressions which you have heard from the highest quarter. * * * I think with you, that, under Providence, 'omnia possumus omnes, but

'Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum;'

and all the faculties, all the talents, all the resources and energies of this country will be necessary, and must be called forth, to enable us to resist and weather the storm."

The next letter was written by Mr. Pitt, who appears to have been extremely unwell all this summer, but could scarcely be brought to pay any attention to the state of his health, or to relax in his unceasing exertions in the public service.

"Hollwood, Oct. 16th.

"I am quite of opinion that few things could have done me more good than some quiet days at Woodley; but for some days after we parted I was too unwell to try even that remedy, and I have since been awaiting the arrival of Lord Clare. He is now come, and the business which brings him will furnish occupation enough to keep me here or in town till the King's return from Weymouth. The Irish business seems to promise extremely well, and our consolidated fund and year's revenue, to the 10th of October, is magnificent beyond all expectation; enough so to give your brother a fresh reason for wishing to live to the opening of the session. Fox's speech at his anniversary must also, I think, have had the same effect. Have you seen it yet? It is so full of insult and defiance to the House of Commons, that, with all possible desire to leave him to the insignificance to which he has doomed himself, I doubt whether it will be possible not to take some parliamentary notice of it.

"Ever sincerely yours, W. P."

The above is the only strong expression which Mr. Pitt has applied to his great rival throughout the whole

correspondence; and considering the course which the latter had recently pursued, his secession from parliament, and the expressions he used at the meeting of the Whig Club on the 20th of May, by which the King was induced to erase his name from the list of privy counsellors on the 25th of the same month, it will scarcely appear too severe for the occasion. At this period an abundant harvest, a flourishing exchequer, the suppression of the Irish rebellion, and, above all, Nelson's surprising victory, had not only restored Mr. Pitt to his wonted vigour and confidence, but also had suggested to his mind the idea of another continental war. The earliest intimation of a course which in the result led only to further disappointment is contained in the following letter, dated

"Downing Street, Oct. 24th.

"Finding nothing to detain me in town, I purpose to be at Woodley by five, at latest, on Saturday. * * * I am just returned from St. James's, where an address was presented from the city, better attended than I ever saw, and in a tone which is exactly what ought to prevail at the present moment; looking to the effect of the victory *as likely to rouse other powers*, and to lead ultimately to a secure and permanent peace through a vigorous continuation of the war.

"Yours ever, W. PITT."

The present views and position of the Minister were further described in three letters, October 30th, November 10th, and 12th, addressed by the Speaker to his brother, from which extracts will now be given.

"You will rejoice to hear that Mr. Pitt is quite well, and in the best spirits. Before he left Woodley this morning he had a letter consisting only of these words:—'Consols 54¼.'

He came to dinner on Saturday, and we have had two most comfortable days. The French papers, containing Bonaparte's letters, arrived last night. It is evident that he was in the greatest danger. In a very recent letter from Lord Nelson, he says, 'that army must be destroyed.' * * * I have much to tell you concerning Pichegru, with whom I dined yesterday, and who has just left me. He has confirmed the opinion which I always entertained of him."*

"Palace Yard, Nov. 12th.

"It seems quite certain that the war on the Continent will be renewed; and I have no doubt that Prussia will concur in the prosecution of it. Lord Nelson has electrified Europe, but the shock, I trust, will be confined to France. The Grisons, where hostilities have probably commenced, is the best inlet into Italy, and from its adjacency to the Swiss cantons may afford the means to their inhabitants of shaking off the yoke, which is certainly borne with the utmost impatience. Prussia would keep France at bay on the Rhine: the army of the Emperor Paul, I trust, would recover Mentz and Manheim; and the Austrians, in conjunction with the forces of the King of Naples, would be sufficient for the deliverance of Italy. Whilst these operations are going on, the inhabitants of Holland, the Netherlands, Brabant, and of France herself, would not, we may surely hope, remain inactive. 'The trodden misery,' I think, 'must turn and sting the heel of the oppressor.' These are the speculations on one side of the question; there are opposite ones, which, I admit, deserve the most serious and deliberate consideration. Pitt is uncommonly well, and more at ease on the state of affairs than I have known him for four or five years. It is understood that Sheridan and Tierney will certainly attend, and probably Grey and Whitbread. The address is to be moved

* General Pichegru, who was a leader of the royalist and defeated party, on the memorable 18th Fructidor, (Sept. 4th, 1797,) had, with many other deputies, been banished at that time to Guiana, from whence he fortunately made his escape, and arrived in London in September, 1798. Though the Speaker did not explain what his opinion was, doubtless it was highly favourable.

by Lord Granville Leveson, and seconded by Sir H. St. John Mildmay. Bragge dined here yesterday, and on Friday Pitt is to form a trio with us, either in Palace Yard or Downing Street."

From these "speculations," of which the subsequent prosecution led to a large and fruitless expenditure of blood and treasure, attention is now carried to the distant East by a letter from Lord Mornington, describing the earliest step of his splendid career in India, namely, forming a closer connexion with the Nizam, and inducing him to disband a formidable corps of 14,000 men, commanded and disciplined by French officers, and to accept the protection of a British subsidiary force in its place.

"Fort William, Nov. 19th, 1798.

"I have the pleasure, my dear Mr. Speaker, to acknowledge your several kind letters of the 9th January, 22d April, 15th and 22d May. * * * I trust in God that I have averted a war by a timely system of precaution and preparation; but, at least, I have placed every part of this vast empire in a respectable posture of defence, and have struck a decisive blow against the French influence growing in India to a formidable degree of power. Read, and mark, and I trust you will find that I have not disappointed your expectations, nor been wanting to the public in the hour of trial. Fortunately (for myself at least) I had scarcely sat down in the council when the occasion arose for a great exertion. For once in my life I reflect with satisfaction on this public effort; and I expect with confidence the approbation of my friends and of my country. In fact, if I am not mistaken, my single exertion has saved the Carnatic from an invasion by Tippoo, and the Deccan, or at least the Nizam's dominions, from falling an immediate prey to the French. If you approve me at home, I trust to you all to strengthen my hands by some public mark of your approbation. * * * I cannot tell you how much pleasure I received from the arrival of

your picture; it is the strongest and best likeness I ever saw of you, or of any body in a picture. I stand before it for a long time together, and can really fancy that I hear you animating me to persevere in the great work of saving India, while you are all employed in that of saving England. I do believe that all will end well at last. Nelson's transcendent victory must produce the ruin of Bonaparte's army.

'*Ex illo fluere, et retro sublapsa referri*
Res Jacobin.'

My health has been far better than it usually was in England, and I have passed the worst season. I am happy to hear that you continue well, but I am alarmed at the accounts of Pitt's health: pray let me know the truth on that subject. What an hour you must have passed under Abershaw's gibbet!* You must have envied the situation of the body in chains. * * * I hope you will excuse all this nonsense, and the dulness of this letter. I have had scarcely half a minute to myself at any time since my arrival, and now occupations thicken all around me. * * * With respect to Tippoo, I think I shall soon give you a good account of him. Do not allow Ireland to escape without an union. Ever, my dear Mr. Speaker, yours most affectionately,

"MORNINGTON."

Amidst such anxieties and occupations, this great man found leisure to express his feelings, on the first receipt of the intelligence from the Nile, in the following spirited fragment, which he enclosed to his friend in the preceding letter.

The copy was found, much worn, amongst Lord Sidmouth's most valued papers, with the following memorandum, in his Lordship's writing, on the back:

"Sent to me from India by Marquis Wellesley.

"S."

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* On Wimbledon Common, near the spot where the Speaker awaited the termination of the duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney.

"Nuper ubi Angliacas, longo post tempore, ad aures,
Expectata diu, et dubiis rumoribus acta,
Certa reportabat Nelsoni fama triumphos :
Qui Libycos ultra fines, et littora propter
Ægypti, ipsiusque inter septemflua Nili
Ostia, Gallorum jam tandem classe reperta,
Spem patriæ explerat ; suspensamque ante salutem
Europes, Asiæque uno firmaverat ictu. (*Cætera desunt.*)"

The session of parliament was opened by the King, in a highly congratulatory speech, on the 20th of November. On the 3d of December, Mr. Pitt brought forward, in his budget, the original conception of an income tax, which he proposed to substitute for the augmentation of the assessed taxes introduced in the preceding year. This plan wholly exonerated all incomes not exceeding 60*l.* a year: those not exceeding 100*l.* it limited to a tax of 2½ per cent.; and all others it charged according to a graduated scale, which in no case was to exceed 10 per cent. And that the advantages derived from voluntary contributions, which, as Mr. Pitt stated to the committee, already amounted to two millions, might not be lost, a provision was made in the new bill empowering individuals to state the sum each was willing to contribute, under a declaration that what he so contributed was not less than one tenth of his income. This and the remaining propositions, which government submitted before the recess, were carried with little opposition; and thus, under circumstances of reviving hope and increased exertion, terminated the year 1798.

The grand subjects of parliamentary discussion in the session of 1798 and 1799 were the original income tax, which has already been noticed, and the contem-

plated union of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, which was submitted to the consideration of parliament on the 22d of January, in the usual manner, by a message from the Crown. With this latter subject, the correspondence of the year 1799 commences. Such, indeed, was its importance, that it not only occasioned the deepest anxiety to the leading statesmen of that period, but even of late has painfully occupied the thoughts of those who have directed their attention to Irish affairs. The Speaker was so much interested in the question, that, departing from his usual practice, on the 12th of February, when the House was in committee, he gave a full and elaborate exposition of his sentiments upon it, which he subsequently printed, and the substance of which will shortly be given. Attention, however, must previously be called to a new correspondent — Colonel, afterwards Sir Edward, Littlehales, the private secretary of Lord Cornwallis — whose letters supplied the Speaker with much valuable information respecting the state of Ireland. In the first of these, dated December 22d, 1798, after stating that he had received "the Lord Lieutenant's full permission to write to the Speaker in the most unreserved manner" respecting the situation of affairs in that country, Colonel Littlehales admitted that their position was extremely unpleasant, and that preparations were making in several counties for a "general insurrection, which was represented as fixed for Christmas-eve." He then mentions, as the most probable source of this revival of the spirit of rebellion, "the inflammatory language used at all public meetings held in opposition to the expected proposal for an union with England. That measure," he added,

"essential as it was to the real interests of Ireland, was far more unpopular than any political question which had ever been agitated in that country; insomuch that even the Catholics, greatly as they must be benefited by it, were decidedly averse to it."

The next letter, bearing the date of January 16th, 1799, describes, in yet stronger terms, the "alarming situation of things in Ireland. The mercantile part of the inhabitants," it states, "both in the north and south, seem generally torpid to the momentous object of a legislative union; whilst nearly the whole body of the people, of all ranks and descriptions, show themselves hostile to the measure." Colonel Littlehales then observes, that "in Westmeath several persons wore both the orange and green cockade, to intimate that a combination of the Orange and Catholic parties was in every respect preferable to a legislative union with Great Britain. In short," he adds, "the opposition has proceeded to such lengths, that the Lord Lieutenant has been obliged to dismiss Sir John Parnell from his station of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Foster, the Speaker, is assiduously employing every possible engine against the union; and this serious dilemma is not a little heightened by the informations received from various parts, especially from the county of Clare, which is this day declared to be in a state of insurrection. To any man of the least reflection," he very sensibly remarks, "these are additional reasons for a legislative union with England, as the only balm for the salvation of this distracted country; but such, Sir, as you justly term it, is the infatuation of this people, that the most sovereign remedy that can be administered to them is rejected

as their bane. In this crisis, a manly, firm, and decisive conduct will, I doubt not, be pursued; and with the countenance and succour that may be expected from England, no real danger is to be apprehended."

In the next letter, dated "Dublin Castle, January 26th," the same party announced to the Speaker the result of the debate of the nights of the 24th and 25th in the Irish House of Commons, when the "paragraph in the proposed address to his Majesty, approving the measure of a legislative union, was expunged by a majority of five."

This immediate rejection of the union by the Irish Commons—a body, be it remembered, of Protestants, and therefore warmly attached to the English alliance—was a most discouraging prelude to Mr. Pitt's intended introduction of the measure to the British parliament. On the 31st of January, however, he undauntedly proposed eight resolutions strongly approving of the union, which were finally carried through the House, after several prolonged debates, by large majorities. At this point, however, as the interest of the question still survives, and as the Speaker took, at the time, an important part in its discussion, the author is obliged to draw somewhat largely on the correspondence. Before, therefore, he advances farther, he desires to give, in full, the sentiments of Mr. Windham; who, on receiving from Ireland the unfavourable result of the division, immediately wrote to the Speaker as follows:—

"Dear Sir, Bath, January 29th, 1799.

"I regret that I cannot have the pleasure of waiting upon you to-morrow, and after the near success of the opposition in Ireland, which may make a show of force desirable here, am rather sorry that I cannot attend you in the House on

Thursday *, I will take care, however, to be back on Thursday se'nnight—supposing it probable that a good deal of discussion may then take place. Should any thing happen to delay the business, it would be a great convenience to me if you would have the goodness to favour me with a line. I understand that the general sentiment of the better sort of Irish here is in favour of a union; and I am far from being certain, if the measure is persisted in, as I understand it will, that the opposition, conducted as it has been, may not finally prove of service. It will show more distinctly what this party is that have called themselves, and that we have chose to call, the friends of English government, and will give us a chance, which I confess I have almost despaired of, of seeing the power of that faction broken. My apprehension has been, that an union, bearing on the front of it such a mark of the power of that party, would have only had the effect of transferring them and their counsels from Dublin to London, and that we should have continued to see Irish affairs through the same medium, only placed a little nearer the eye. I hope what has now happened will force us to look to other friends, and prove ultimately the means of bringing the Catholics more forward. We must not, in my opinion, be too long in manifesting our intentions in that respect, lest if things should take an unfavourable turn, and men, such as your counterpart in office, should become desperate, they may endeavour to outbid us, and find the means of gaining a part of the Catholics to themselves. The combination will not be more unnatural than between the Catholics and the original United Irishmen of the north. Among the opposers of the union I find here, to my great surprise, the Bishop of Waterford. I have not had time to find yet what his reasons are, real or pretended. The walk of the morning has lasted so long as to leave me no time to tell you any more of our politics here, had I indeed more to

* Thursday, Jan. 31st, was the day fixed for the consideration of his Majesty's message respecting an union, when Mr. Pitt made his celebrated speech on bringing forward his resolutions on that subject. On Thursday se'ennight, Feb. 7th, Mr. Windham attended in his place, and spoke at considerable length in answer to Mr. Sheridan.

tell. I find I must make haste to assure you that I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

"WM. WINDHAM."

In the latter part of the above letter, the reader must have discerned the germs of the policy to which Mr. Pitt eventually resorted; namely, that of carrying the union by means of the Catholics. This system of conciliation through concession was directly opposed to the opinions and conscientious feelings of his Majesty, as also to those of the Protestant church and people of England, with whom the Speaker, now for the first time dissenting from Mr. Pitt, entirely coincided. This difference deeply affected the future destinies of both these parties, and eventually led to the dissolution of that confidential intercourse and entire union between them which had subsisted for so many years, to their mutual happiness, and the benefit of their common country. Another allusion which Mr. Windham made, was to Mr. Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, whose vehement hostility to the union is mentioned, with strong marks of disapprobation, in every letter of the period, especially in those of Mr. Douglas, afterwards Lord Glenbervie, who it appears entered into a correspondence with Mr. Foster on this occasion, in the vain hope of removing his objections. The evils attendant on the existing system, and the internal movements of those interested in this question, were well explained by the Dean of Waterford, in the following letter, dated February 13th: —

"Dear Mr. Speaker,

"The proposal of the union is operating very inauspiciously even here, where its commercial benefits would be felt as much as any where. Had it been proposed, *flagrante bello*, or immediately upon the defeat of the rebels, when the Ca-

tholic dreaded the re-enactment of the penal statutes in requital of his recent misconduct, and the Protestant apprehended a renewal of the conflict with the Catholic, seconded by a successful French invasion, it would, I think, have met with little opposition. But by degrees I observed the public sentiment to change: the Protestant, recovered from his alarm, soon thought himself strong enough to keep down the Catholic; and the latter, discovering that nothing vindictive was meditated in Parliament, but, on the contrary, the justice of his plea for farther indulgence allowed, preferred *the chance of attaining hereafter to the ascendency he has in view* to the acceptance of the boon offered by Great Britain, which must cut up his pretensions by the root. The Catholics, indeed, have all along, and do at this moment, profess to wish for an union; but I have reasons to believe their professions are not sincere. The priests particularly condemn it. * * * Surely the decision in parliament respecting the union proves the business was not managed with suitable address. In this city I am certain if the smallest exertion had been solicited by government, a very numerous class would have passed resolutions in favour of the union. Many of the Protestant gentlemen and of the merchants are its advocates; but not a hint was ever given. * * * I have mentioned these circumstances to signify to you how foreign to the merits of the cause, and the natural influence of government, has been, in some respects, the vast repulsion of the union. We are very uncomfortable here in our social habits. All houses in the country barricaded and guarded, or the inhabitants fled. Perpetual assaults, robberies, and murders around us; and the mails frequently intercepted by armed banditti. A few nights since above twenty United Irishmen, guarded by some of the German regiment, who, it is believed, were bribed, escaped from prison. Indeed, what with escapes and pardons obtained through the favour of men of influence, the whole country is becoming peopled by villains convicted of the most horrid crimes. My butler, who plotted so wickedly against the government, is still untried, and will probably get off."

Whilst in Ireland, the spirit of discord was thus banishing the happy prospect of amalgamation, the

Speaker, convinced that a legislative union of the two kingdoms presented the best, if not the only mode of consolidating the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, delivered his sentiments at great length upon the subject, when the House was in committee, on the 12th of February. The speech appears to have made a considerable impression; but we are indebted, probably, to the following note from Mr. Douglas, who presided over the committee that evening, for the opportunity of reading it in print.

After stating, that "he had heard from Ireland that Mr. Pitt's great speech, on the 31st of January, had made a wonderful impression in that country," Mr. Douglas adds, "As a powerful ally to Mr. Pitt's, allow me to observe, that I most sincerely think you owe your own to the public of both countries, and to your own principles and character." In deference to the above, or corresponding suggestions, the speech was published, and speedily passed through several editions, from the third of which the following analysis of its contents has been extracted.

The Speaker had risen immediately after Mr. Bankes, who had expressed an opinion, that it was unsafe to coalesce with Ireland:—"From that opinion he," the Speaker, "entirely differed, neither could he agree with his honourable friend, that the legislature of Ireland was adequate to the redress of the evils under which the country laboured, and to the restoration of its internal tranquillity. This supposition, unhappily, was not warranted by experience: there were radical and inherent evils, closely interwoven with the state and condition of Ireland, which he was convinced an incorporation of the two legislatures

could alone effectually remove." He next alluded to "the unsatisfactory state of Ireland, at all periods of its history, as compared with its advantages of soil and climate, its means of internal improvement and prosperity, and the spirit, talents, and exertions of its inhabitants:" this he attributed to "the defect of their government, which, though resembling our own in form, did not, like ours, bestow and receive general confidence and protection; not being connected by the same ties with the interests, feelings, and sentiments of the people." The Speaker then proceeded to trace from their origin those seeds of animosity which had at length been matured into rebellion; "first, there was the fact, that a very large majority of the people were Catholics, whilst at least four fifths of the property was in the hands of Protestants. To this source of discord hereditary feelings and resentments were to be added.

"The extensive forfeitures to the Crown, including nearly the whole of Ulster, which occurred at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the transfer of the legislative authority from the Catholics to the Protestants by James I., the severities of Cromwell, the event at the Boyne, the surrender of Limerick, and the code of laws enacted for the security of persons of one persuasion, and which therefore could not but press heavily on those of the other: all these circumstances could not fail to irritate the Catholics against those whom they viewed as heretics in religion, and the unjust possessors of property which they considered their own: On the other hand, the bigotry and horrible excesses of the Catholics in 1641, and the dreadful use they made of their power

under James II., had of necessity excited in the Protestants feelings of apprehension and distrust, which appeared to justify the severe code enacted at the commencement of the present century." The Speaker next noticed "the amelioration in the system of treatment which occurred in 1778, when the penal laws against the Catholics were repealed, when they received from parliament full security of property, complete personal liberty, and a perfect toleration of their religion; and when Ireland itself was permitted to partake in the foreign trade of Great Britain. Further political concessions were made in 1782: the control of the privy council, under what was called Poyning's law was abolished, and the full independence of the Irish parliament was established, by repealing the act of 6 Geo. I., which gave the British parliament power to make laws for Ireland, and by doing away the appellant jurisdiction of the British House of peers. Of these last concessions," he observed, "that they were defective, inasmuch as they loosened the ancient ties of connexion, without substituting others in their place: such a state of things," he proceeded, "was ill suited to sustain the shock of the French revolution; and the new doctrine of the rights of man found ample space for their exercise, in a field where property, power, and privilege were on one side, and discontent, and the predominance of numbers, on the other."

After briefly touching upon the circumstances of the recent convulsion, the Speaker passed on to "the three several plans proposed for tranquillising Ireland, and binding her to Great Britain; namely, Catholic emancipation so called, the re-enactment of the popery

laws, and an incorporation of the two legislatures. The objections to Catholic emancipation, coupled as it was in general opinion with parliamentary reform, were, that it would give the influence to numbers, and take it from property, and thus overwhelm the rights of the Protestants of Ireland. Anxious, therefore, as he was for the removal of the most obnoxious grounds of complaint, against what was termed the Protestant ascendency, he would seek it only by means of a legislative union, and not at the hazard of those formidable consequences which Catholic emancipation was, in his opinion, calculated to produce. Indeed, if the Catholics were true to their conscience and their creed, the Protestant establishment must be exposed by such a change to immediate danger, and the state of its members be rendered worse than that of the Catholics during any period of the last two centuries; nor could it be expected that they would possess, without exercising it, the power of recovering that property, of which they conceived their ancestors to have been wrongfully deprived; and if, at present, inconvenience arose from the discordant proceedings of distinct legislatures, how much more would it be felt, when political power was possessed by those between whom and the parliament of Great Britain still worse differences might be expected to arise.

"His honourable friend who spoke last wished parliament to retrace its steps, and to re-enact the whole code of the popery laws against those Catholics who had joined in the late rebellion, at the same time that it rewarded those, if any, whose conduct had been loyal and peaceable, by admission to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by Protestants. This, however, would

be acting on the supposition, which undoubtedly was not correct, that the rebellion had been carried on entirely by Catholics. This suggestion, therefore, if adopted, would only create new sources of dissension and hostility.

"It should, besides, be observed, that many, who, though equally disaffected, had from hypocrisy, cowardice, or other motive, refrained from taking up arms against the government, would thereby be countenanced; whilst others, who had been more openly, but not more wilfully, culpable would, in consequence of one rash step, be excluded for ever. This surely was not a mode of healing the divisions or establishing the tranquillity of Ireland. It would neither tranquillise one party nor give confidence to the other."

Alluding to the competency to exercise the elective franchise, and to hold certain offices, which was conceded to the Roman Catholics of Ireland in 1793, the Speaker referred with approbation "to the sentiments of his fellow Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. 'For that measure,' Mr. Foster had said, 'he could not thank the Minister, for he considered it as the forerunner of the overthrow of the Protestant establishment in Ireland.' If this prediction were well founded," the Speaker proceeded, "he saw no means by which it could be averted, except by a legislative union, or by a renewal of the disabilities which were abolished by the act of 1793. Of the former measure, he regretted to say, Mr. Foster had recently disapproved, and he conjectured, therefore, it was by the latter only that he could hope to avert those evils which no one could more sincerely deprecate than that

honourable gentleman himself." The Speaker admitted "that, had he to choose between the re-enactment of the popery laws and Catholic emancipation, coupled with parliamentary reform, as the means of restoring tranquillity to Ireland, he should give the preference to the former; but it was because he objected to *both those measures* that he gave his cordial support to the contemplated union." The Speaker next expressed his satisfaction "at finding his opinion on this subject confirmed by many high authorities, amongst whom were Sir Matthew Decker, Sir William Petty, Sir Josiah Child, and Molineux, the friend of Locke," from whose writings he quoted the following passage:—"Since, therefore, the parliament of England may bind Ireland, it must be allowed that the people of Ireland ought to be represented in the parliament of England, and this, I believe, we should be willing enough to embrace; but it is a happiness we can hardly expect." "There was also on record a report of a committee of the Irish House of Lords in the reign of Queen Anne, which represented the expediency of 'her Majesty taking such means as to her may seem fit to promote such an union with England as may best qualify the states of this kingdom' (Ireland) 'to be represented there.' To these authorities he might add those of Lord Clare, Lord Kilwarden, and particularly of Lord Yelverton, who had been called for his conduct in 1782 the 'father of the independence of the Irish parliament.' To these high authorities," the Speaker observed, "he desired to add the opinions of Dr. Macnevin * and

* Dr. Macnevin fell into the hands of government, and, being convicted, was, with some other condemned rebels, spared, on condition of their confessing all they knew. Macnevin went to

others who were hostile to the government, and who, in an address published by the *Committee of Nine*, on the 9th April, 1795, had denominated the union a measure fatal to their own views and projects. It was not, however, on authorities alone that he was disposed to support this measure: he thought it was calculated to avert much evil from both countries, and to effect much positive good. One important fact was, that it would, in future, preclude the danger and inconvenience resulting from discordant divisions of separate legislatures; two recent instances of which he mentioned to the committee: one on the subject of the commercial propositions, in 1785, the other on the question of the regency, in 1789; each of which had occasioned deep and anxious reflections in every thinking mind. His honourable friend, Mr. Bankes, appeared to feel little apprehension on the subject of any possible difference between the two legislatures, because the King of Great Britain, as the supreme magistrate, was competent to overrule both. But the

America, where he subsequently became a candidate for some public office. His rival accused him of being not only a rebel and traitor, but also an apostate. In justification therefore of himself he published a pamphlet, a copy of which fell into the hands of the friend who has communicated to the author the substance of this note. Macnevin therein stated that he and his fellow-convicts had revealed only such particulars as they knew the government were already acquainted with; that government had got possession of the secret of the rebellion through Lord Malmesbury, who, when at Lisle, had induced one of the members of the Directory, for a pecuniary consideration, to give him the information; that government could not make known the particulars thus divulged without betraying the source whence they obtained it. It was, therefore, worth their while to spare the lives of these rebels, in order to obtain the means of accounting for the information they had really derived from other sources.

power of the purse was the privilege of the people, the check upon the advisers of the Crown, and the safeguard of the liberties of the people. This could not be overruled by the prerogative, yet it might, at any important crisis, be differently exercised in both countries: in one supplies may be granted, in the other withheld; and the co-operation of the two legislatures could never be insured, even on the most momentous occasions.

"But," the Speaker added, "my hopes go further than this. Should this union be effected, it will not only put an end to discordance, but will also create unanimity; will lead all to look the same way; to recognise the same interests; to entertain the same fears; to encourage the same expectations. The chief benefit, however, which he expected from the union was the improvement it would effect in the internal situation of Ireland, by removing the incentives to political animosity, and promoting habits of industry and amelioration by the infusion of British capital into that country. Would the people of England so readily embark their capital in the commerce of Ireland if the parliament of the latter remained distinct? Yet that such an application of a portion of the wealth of this country would operate most beneficially on Ireland could not for a moment be doubted; and, notwithstanding what had been said of the evil of non-residence as likely to result from the union, he was persuaded that nothing would make home so attractive to the wealthy proprietor as that security to property, and that improvement in manners, which the influx of British capital would effect, by converting the wastes and fastnesses, now used only as retreats

to the robber, the outlaw, and the rebel, into scenes of cheerful labour and protected industry.

"It had been said that the proposed union promised no immediate advantage to the Roman Catholic, but from this assertion he altogether differed. Freed, as he already was, from all restrictions affecting the happiness and prosperity of private life, and the regulation of his personal conduct, the Catholic would fully participate in every advantage which the union would bestow generally upon Ireland: and he might mention as a particular benefit which the Catholic would derive from this measure, the increased satisfaction with which he would exercise the elective franchise bestowed on him by parliament in 1793; when, instead of sending members, as at present, to a House of Commons, the whole body of which differed from him in religion, and, as he conceived, was hostile to his interests, he would employ his franchise in contributing to form the representation in an united parliament, where any harsh, selfish, or narrow views, which he may have suspected to prevail amongst the Protestants composing the Irish parliament, would instantly be overruled by a vast majority of members necessarily uninfluenced by local prejudices and partialities."

The Speaker then observed, "that he would not now offer an opinion as to the expediency, in the event of an union, of extending to the Catholics of the empire generally a more ample participation in the privileges enjoyed by Protestants; neither would he occupy the time of the committee by dwelling on the particulars of the union with Scotland, and the consequences of that measure as bearing on the present question. He would only remark, that the previous animosity

between the two nations, amounting almost to hostility, was entirely removed by the union: to which he might add, that there were facilities to a perfect incorporation in this case which did not exist in the other; for here and in Ireland there was the same code of civil and criminal law; the same forms of justice and legislation; the same succession to the Crown, and the same established religion. Having stated a few of the chief recommendations of the measure, he would now notice two of the chief objections that had been made to it. The *first* was to the competency of the parliament of Ireland to accede to it; the *second* rested on the *final* adjustment, as it was called, of the year 1782: the one questioned the authority of the *Irish*, the other appealed to the good faith of the *English* parliament. As regarded the first question, the supremacy of parliament and the extent of its power had been affirmed by the highest legal authorities, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Matthew Hale, Sir William Blackstone, and others, who were the best friends to the liberties of their country.

"He readily admitted, that it was with the utmost circumspection, and only upon the most solemn and urgent occasions, that parliament should exercise the momentous power it possessed of new-modelling the constitution, and altering the succession to the Crown and the established religion of these kingdoms; but when the public security required such a course, parliament was the only authority which the constitution intrusted with such an awful responsibility. 'Parliament,' said Sir William Blackstone, 'is the place where that transcendent and absolute power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is intrusted

by the constitution of these kingdoms.' He attached still less weight to the assertion that the present question could not be entertained because the term 'final adjustment' had been bestowed on the proceedings of the year 1782. If any importance were to be attached to those words, which were noticed indeed in the addresses of the British parliament and of the House of Lords in Ireland, but not in that of the Irish House of Commons, they ought to have been solemnly recorded in acts of the respective legislatures as the basis of the new relation which then took place between the two countries; but that not having been done, the words were not binding on the parliament of Ireland, which had never adopted them; whilst on the British Houses of Parliament, the adjustment could, at the utmost, only be regarded final with reference to the object to which they had applied the term; namely, establishing the independence of the Irish parliament, and renouncing their own supremacy over it. But if that measure of 1782 were indeed a final adjustment, how can we account for the parliament entertaining further measures of the same character both in that and in the subsequent year?

"This fact sufficiently proves, that the legislatures had not precluded themselves from adopting any such ulterior proceedings as might be considered essential to the interests of both countries, and hence the argument founded on the incompetency of parliament to entertain the question of an union at all must, in his opinion, fall to the ground.

"Other objections," the Speaker proceeded, "had been urged, the force of which he would by no means deny. He was convinced, that the House of Commons,

as at present constituted, faithfully represented the people of England, and accurately expressed their deliberate opinions and wishes. He could not, therefore, contemplate the proposed augmentation of its numbers without a considerable degree of anxiety; but he was not inclined to oppose a contingent disadvantage to a positive good; and he must admit, that his apprehensions on this subject were somewhat allayed, by the experience which had been afforded of the union with Scotland: but the evils which it was the duty of the House, if possible, to avert, were too pressing to be left untouched, and every other remedy which had been suggested appeared to him fraught with consequences far more injurious than any which this objectionable circumstance was capable of producing—of danger to the commercial interests of this country he confessed that he entertained no apprehension. It was not true that Great Britain would lose what Ireland would gain. He believed that both countries would be benefited by the union, and that whatever tended to promote industry, and restore tranquillity in Ireland, would give additional energy and stability to the trading interests of Great Britain. It had been asked why this measure, if really so advantageous, had not been earlier recommended? The answer was, that the necessity of a closer connexion between the two countries, as essential to the welfare of each, had recently been rendered more apparent, by the attempts of intestine traitors, combined with the common enemy of both kingdoms, to separate them altogether. Some gentlemen," the Speaker added, "were of opinion, that as the union had been discountenanced by the House of Commons in Ireland, the further discussion of the measure here would increase the irritation

prevailing in that country. Such an effect he should sincerely lament; but it appeared due to the parliament of Great Britain, to declare the fair and equal conditions on which the incorporation of the two legislatures might be effected; and, in truth, it was only by such an explanation, that suspicion, error, and misrepresentation could be avoided. He trusted that the resolutions adopted by parliament would tend to appease rather than to inflame; would be a pledge of the justice and liberality of Great Britain; and would manifest her anxious desire, that the inhabitants of the two countries should become one people; should participate the same advantages, and be united by the closest ties, under the same constitution, the same parliament, and the same paternal monarch. He trusted that the address which would be carried to the foot of the throne, in acknowledgment of the gracious message now under consideration, would contain no sentiment or expression which might be misinterpreted; and no intimation of a desire to press the question upon the parliament and people of Ireland with any other impulse than it might derive from their free and unbiassed judgment. The subject, he was convinced, would make its way. To Ireland it offered greater advantages than any other single measure had ever afforded, whilst it would greatly augment the resources of the whole empire; and by placing its security and independence upon a rock of adamant, enable it to maintain, throughout the world, the best and most valuable interests of mankind."

The author has endeavoured to extract faithfully the substance of the above luminous and statesmanlike speech. That it occupies some space in his

pages he does not regret; because it enters so fully upon every portion of this great question, as to release him from the duty of noticing the subject any further at present: he will, therefore, merely add, that when the British parliament had, in its address to the throne, its eight resolutions, and several able debates in both Houses, fully elucidated its own views, and displayed all the advantages to be derived from a legislative union, it desisted from further movement during that year, and left the subject to work its way with the Irish public by its own merits, and with such degree of rapidity, as those private influences, which it is supposed self-interest rarely fails to call into operation on such occasions, might impart to it.

An early instance of the success of this system of delay and suspension was reported by the Dean of Waterford, who informed the Speaker, on the 29th of June, of that "great commercial city and neighbourhood having at last publicly declared its sentiments in favour of an union, which had long been a very doubtful event, both the members in parliament being violent anti-unionists. In the conduct of the Catholics," he added, "there is something mysterious: though they almost all avow themselves unionists, I know from private conferences with my brother dean, and their other chiefs, that they are much divided amongst themselves, and though they assure me they will all declare, but very few have signed with us, and *they* are deemed separatists. * * * I return you many thanks," he proceeds, "for your excellent speech: I can assure you, of all the speeches that have reached us, not one has stood higher in public opinion amongst us than yours, or done more good in Ireland."

CHAPTER IX.

1799, 1800.

Offensive Warfare. Capture of Seringapatam. Disastrous Result of Continental Operations. Letter from Mr. Pitt. Letter from the Speaker to his Brother. The Expedition to Holland. Letter from Mr. Pitt. Bonaparte's Letter to the King — Correspondence on the Subject. His Majesty's Notice of the Speaker. Meeting of Parliament. Discussions on the Scarcity. Union with Ireland. Attempt on the King's Life. Letter from Lord Malmesbury. Successes of the French Arms in Italy. Sketch of Terms of Peace by the British Cabinet. Letters from Mr. Pitt — His Energy — Failure of his Health — His Visit to the Speaker at Woodley. Lord Mornington created Marquis Wellesley — His Letter to the Speaker. Meeting of Parliament. High Price of Grain. Return of Lord Nelson. Letter to General Simcoe respecting him. Termination of the Session. Indifferent State of the Speaker's Health.

THE earlier correspondence of the year 1799 presents evident tokens of reviving hope. At the renewal of the struggle upon the Continent, attention, which had recently been almost restricted to the means of internal defence, was again directed to the attainment of a disposable force for aggressive warfare. On the 22d February, a scheme to that effect, which Mr. Pitt thought likely to prove useful, was submitted to that minister, by General Simcoe, through the Speaker, who, in his letter to the General, drew the following discouraging picture of the military state of Great Britain: —"At present, our means of internal defence

are abundant, and our means of attack next to nothing: the climate of the West Indies, *armis sævior*, has destroyed our armies."

In the course of the summer, however, this deficiency in the means of offensive warfare was remedied, and the system of expeditions resumed; and before the close of the year, intelligence of an event calculated to rouse the military spirit of Great Britain to the utmost extent, namely, the death of Tippoo Sultaun, and the overthrow of the Mysore power, was communicated to the Speaker, in a letter from his friend Lord Mornington, dated May 18th, 1799, which has already been published, in the fifth volume of the "Wellesley Dispatches:" meanwhile, as may be gathered from the tenour of the following letter, Mr. Pitt's sanguine mind had resumed its confidence, and was prepared to plunge again, with its wonted energy, into continental alliances.

"Downing Street, July 10th.

"An officer arrived this morning from Placentia (then Suwaroff's head quarters) with an account that he had come in person to conduct the attack on Macdonald; and in the course of the 19th and 20th, after an obstinate contest, had completely defeated him, and, in the pursuit, had taken ten thousand men and four generals. The citadel of Turin had surrendered. Macdonald's remaining force is probably 12 or 15,000. Moreau is posted near Genoa, with not above 12,000, and his retreat to France cut off. The contest seems drawing towards its close in Italy, and operations will probably be now pushed with vigour on the side of Switzerland, and (secret) our first division of Russians to act on this side of Europe were to begin their embarkation *as this day*, which is near a month sooner than we had counted upon.

"Ever yours, W. PITT."

Acquainted as we now are with the sequel of these events, it is impossible to trace, in characters written by Mr. Pitt himself, the revival of that belligerent spirit which tempted him, on this and a subsequent occasion, to rouse Austria to arms, before she had recruited her strength, exhausted by preceding disasters, without a feeling of deep regret. Ere the next year had elapsed, all these buoyant hopes were drowned in blood, on the plains of Marengo, and in the forest of Hohenlinden. The energies of one man were sufficient to turn the whole tide of success against the allied powers; and already, the frigate, which, in the person of Bonaparte, was freighted with the future destinies of Europe for the next sixteen years, was stealthily threading her way through the British cruisers, on her return to France, which she reached on the 7th of October. All this, however, belonged then to futurity; and at that moment the progress of the allied arms in Italy and Switzerland had filled every bosom with confidence and hope. These feelings were displayed in the Speaker's address to the King, at the prorogation of parliament, on the 12th of July: a document from which a few extracts will here be given, because it is much commended in the correspondence.

"The magnitude of the supply, and the cheerfulness with which it has been given, combined with the flourishing state of commerce, and of the revenue, are decisive indications of the unimpaired resources of the British empire, and of the unshaken firmness of your Majesty's faithful people. To your Commons it is a subject of pride to reflect, that in providing for the exigency of the present conjuncture they have adopted a measure eminently calculated to support public credit; upon the failure of which the enemy have long

founded the vain hope of destroying the liberties and independence of these kingdoms.

"The interests of this country are closely connected with those of other states. Your Commons have, accordingly, conformed to the principles of a sound and enlarged policy, by affording to your Majesty the most ample means of assisting the exertions of those powers, who, justly estimating the dangers with which they are threatened, are convinced that a fatal aggravation of it would be the probable consequence of compromise and supineness.

"Your Commons, Sire, are deeply sensible of the importance of the stake for which your Majesty is still unavoidably contending. It is, they are persuaded, upon the wisdom and fortitude of the British parliament that, under the favour of Divine Providence, must chiefly depend the preservation of whatever is truly valuable in civil society, and of all that constitutes the happiness of private life. Actuated by these sentiments, they have not hesitated to continue to your Majesty that cordial support in the prosecution of the contest which can alone justify the hope of concluding it by a safe and durable peace."

The repose which the Speaker usually enjoyed during a recess was this year occasionally interrupted by military duties; by the review of his corps of yeomanry by his Majesty in July, and by other more pleasing occupations, alluded to in the following extract from a letter which he addressed to his brother on the 17th of August:—

"I have this morning a short respite after a bustle of four weeks, during which I have had great reason to be gratified. The Duke of Cumberland, who is going almost immediately upon service, has desired to come here to-day, and stay till Monday. * * * On the fall of Mantua and Alessandria I heartily congratulate you, as well as on the account of the combined fleet being in Brest harbour. That of Lord Bridport, when he has joined Lord Keith, will be fifty-nine sail of the line: more than can be necessary for the blockade

of Brest; and we are now relieved from the necessity of having our fleet so much divided as heretofore. Lord Nelson has eighteen sail of the line. I send you the plan of a military exercise at which I was present yesterday; after which we dined at Swinley Lodge. The royal family were there: it was their last meeting previous to the Duke of York's departure."

His Royal Highness was then about to join and take command of the expedition, which had already sailed on the 13th of August, for the purpose of attempting the recovery of Holland, a portion of the grand scheme for the liberation of Europe, which had been concerted between Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, at the termination of the congress at Rastadt. This undertaking was assigned to a combined British and Russian force in British pay; and in pursuance of such arrangement, the 1st division of our army, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, landed in North Holland, near the Helder, on the 27th of August, and after repulsing, with great slaughter, an attack of the Dutch under General Daendels, opened an access for the English fleet to that of the Dutch, consisting of about twenty-five sail of all sizes, under Admiral Story, which surrendered without resistance, and hoisted the Orange colours on the 30th of the same month. Whilst the British forces awaited, in their position, near the sea, the arrival of the Russians, on the 10th of September they were attacked by the enemy, whose army had been reinforced by a large French corps under General Brune, and were again victorious. On the 18th, seven thousand Russian troops disembarked from Revel, and the Duke of York, who arrived on the same day, took the command of the whole force,

amounting to thirty-three thousand men. And now his Royal Highness, considering himself equal to offensive operations, made two desperate assaults on the enemy's line of posts, one on the 19th of September, the other on the 2d of October; but although, on each occasion, the British troops obtained considerable successes, the attacks, in their general results, were both failures; and as the Dutch manifested no disposition to join the allies, and as access to the interior of the country became every day more difficult, through the advance of the season, and the increase of the enemy's numbers; the Duke very prudently desisted from further attempts, and before the close of the autumn reconducted the expedition to England. This brief narrative has been required, to explain the cause of another inroad, which was made this year, on the leisure of the Speaker's vacation, by the sudden convocation of parliament on the 24th of September. The reasons assigned in the King's speech for this unusual summons were, that the parliament might take steps, 1st, to increase the regular army, by enabling three fifths of the militia, instead of one fourth, to volunteer into the line; and, 2dly, to provide supplies for the public service during the early months of the ensuing year. These objects having been effected, without much difficulty or opposition, the parliament was again prorogued on the 12th of October, until the 21st of January, 1800. On the day after the prorogation, Mr. Pitt wrote to the Speaker the following statement of the Duke of York's unsuccessful attack of the enemy's works, on the 2d of October, in which his brother, Major-general Lord Chatham, had taken a distinguished part: —

"Downing Street, Oct. 13th.

"I have barely time to tell you that, thank God, we have accounts of my brother being safe and well, after another severe action, in which he bore a large part. His escape has been a narrow one, as a spent ball struck his shoulder, and was repelled by the epaulette. The account of him comes from Colonel Macdonald, who writes, having seen and conversed with him the next day, and kindly sends it, thinking, from his distance from head-quarters, that no letter from himself would be in time for the messenger. The action took place on the 2d, in consequence of an attack made by our troops, which ended, as usual, much to their honour, and left us masters of the field of battle. But the advantage was not decisive enough to promise a farther progress without too much loss and risk; and it was therefore wisely determined to retreat to our former position behind the Zuyper, which has been done accordingly. We must now look only to the Helder, if it can be made secure, and withdraw the bulk of our force, to be nursed for future service.

"Ever yours, W. PITT."

Thus calmly could this great man express himself respecting the defeat of so large a portion of his own plan for the campaign. This plan, as shown in the result, was too gigantic to be conducted with much probability of success, and already was the remaining part of it abandoned by Suwaroff and the Russians, who were now in full retreat from Switzerland to the Rhine. The Speaker, though at first anxious, required, like his buoyant friend, but a short period to reconcile himself to these disappointments. These contradictory feelings are evident in the following words addressed to his brother: "I am haunted by our army:—

'Admonet in somnis, et turbida terret imago.'

I shudder at the thoughts of a great loss, and

still more at the alternative of averting it by disgrace —

'Conventioned flight, and stipulated shame,'

as was said of the affair of Closterseven." Writing to the same party, on the 28th, he adds, on this subject: — "The Duke of York's letter has in some degree reconciled me to the convention. It is a comfort to know, that it was not extorted from us by indispensable necessity; and that it amounts to little more than a proof that we preferred the release of eight thousand prisoners to the infliction of such a calamity as that of inundation."

With this event the interest of the correspondence terminates for the present. The only topic of the year which remains to be recorded is the singular accomplishment of a prediction by Sir John Macpherson, respecting Bonaparte, who, it will be recollected, returned to France from Egypt on the 7th of October. This favourite of fortune, finding the crisis favourable to his ambition, succeeded, on the 10th of November, with the assistance of the Abbé Sieyes, one of the members of the Directory, in overthrowing that body, and in causing the whole executive authority to be vested in three consuls, of whom, on the 15th of December, he was himself appointed the chief, and from that time he virtually exercised all the functions of a legitimate government. Writing of these events, Sir John Macpherson expressed himself to the Speaker in the following terms: — "The scene is now changed. The reign of jacobinism in France is over, having consumed its aliment, and the new military government will offer peace, in order that our rejection of it may disunite us and unite themselves." This letter was dated December 18th; and it is remarkable that

on the 25th of the same month Bonaparte addressed to the King of England that celebrated letter, in which he inquired whether the war which had ravaged the whole world for eight years was to be eternal. These overtures the government rejected, it was thought, with too much precipitation, since thereby they played the First Consul's game, by enabling him to convince the French nation of his own pacific disposition, and of the inveterate hostility of England. The two notes, indeed, which Lord Grenville addressed to the French government on the occasion, though not amounting to an actual rejection of the Chief Consul's overture, appeared to leave him no other option than to regard them in that light; for they precluded all negotiation "until the permanency of the existing government of France should have been tested by experience." This language, proceeding from the same government which recently had twice "invited negotiations" by sending Lord Malmesbury to Paris and Lisle, in some degree exposed it to the charge of inconsistency; and when Lord Grenville proceeded, in addition, to advert to the origin of the war, and to recommend the restoration of the Bourbons, he afforded an opportunity of retort, of which those able politicians, Bonaparte and Talleyrand, did not fail to take advantage. "If," they observed in their reply, "the wishes of his Britannic Majesty (in conformity with his assurances) are in unison with those of the French republic, for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it?" Their answer to the allusion respecting the restoration of the monarchy was

still more pungent. "The First Consul could not doubt," it stated, "that his Britannic Majesty recognised the right of nations to choose the form of their own government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown: the Chief Consul is, therefore, unable to comprehend how the minister of his Majesty could annex insinuations no less injurious to the French nation than it would be to England if an invitation were held out in favour of that republican government which England adopted in the last century; or if an exhortation were given to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there. If," the note proceeds, "at periods not far distant, his Majesty invited negotiations and pacific conferences, how is it possible that he should not now be eager to renew negotiations to which the present reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress?" These observations, however severe, were not perhaps wholly undeserved. It appears, indeed, from a consideration of all the circumstances, that, according to Mr. Pitt's admission, Lord Grenville's note was intended rather as a "manifesto for France and England," and Europe, than as a specific answer to the Chief Consul's proposal; and that, in reality, the British ministers were not at that moment more anxious for peace than was the French government itself. The following letters relate to this subject:—

Mr. Pitt to the Speaker.

"Jan. 4th, 1800.

"I wish I could have confirmed the expectation of a further adjournment, but the necessity of early enforcing the income act would at any rate have put it out of the question. And it is now become more desirable not to postpone our meeting, from the event of our having received a communi-

cation from the new consul, which cannot too soon be the subject of discussion. It amounted merely to a general overture for peace, but without proposing any thing specific, either as to the basis or terms of treaty, or mode of negotiation. We have felt no difficulty in declining all negotiation *undert he present circumstances*, and have drawn our answer as a sort of manifesto both for France and England, bringing forward the topics which seem most likely to promote the cause of royalty, in preference to this new and certainly not less absolute government; but taking care at the same time expressly to disclaim all idea of making the restoration of royalty (however desirable) the *sine quâ non* of peace. We mean to print the papers immediately, and I will desire copies to be sent to you as soon as they are ready. I shall wish much to know what you think of them. They seem to me likely to produce a very good effect.

"Ever sincerely yours, W. PITT."

From the Speaker to Mr. Hiley Addington.

"Jan. 9th, 1800.

"The enclosed from Mr. Pitt, which I beg you to return, was followed in a day or two by the papers to which it refers. Bonaparte's letter is that of a man whose head was not quite strong enough for the eminence on which he was suddenly placed. Indeed this is indicated by the extraordinary measure of writing to the King at all. I have, however, no doubt of his wish to make peace; though if plenipotentiaries from each of the allied powers had been assembled on the same spot, and had each received a similar overture, I do not think that, under the present circumstances, they would have acted wisely in encouraging an immediate negotiation. The reasons for this opinion will, I dare say, readily occur to you; and entertaining it, as I do, I cannot but apply it with less hesitation to the conduct fit to be pursued by a government (and particularly one so circumstanced as that of Great Britain) to whom a separate overture had been made. I will, however, acknowledge to *you*, that the terms of the answer do not *entirely* meet my wishes. They are in some parts too caustic and opprobrious, and more appears to me to have been said than was necessary. There is a temper in it which

takes from its dignity; and it has not quite enough of the character of moderation. * * * Our visit to Frogmore was repeated on Monday last; and then, as on the former day, much passed in a conversation of two hours which could not fail to interest and gratify me most highly. The dinner at Devizes on Friday was a severe service. * * * The ship's company were in high spirits, and acquitted themselves in all respects as usual. The active services of the officer who commanded on that day are now closed — 'Cæstus, artemque repono.' We mean to go to town on the 17th. Depend upon it that the overture, the income act, and the union, will make it impossible for you to continue long at Langford Court. Ever yours,

"H. A."

Before the final dismissal of this subject, it appears advisable to state that the Speaker's objections related only to the *terms* in which the overture of the Chief Consul was replied to, and that he fully agreed with Mr. Pitt respecting the impolicy of treating for peace at all at that moment, and the impossibility of doing so, except in conjunction with the allied powers. In fact, he expressed himself to this effect in the following extract from a letter to Mr. Abbot, dated January 8th: — "The papers just published by authority cannot be too soon the subject of discussion in parliament. They will be the touchstone of the good sense and firmness of the country. The whole transaction, if seen in its proper light, will have a good effect both at home and abroad, and will make amends for somewhat of humiliation, which, we must acknowledge, preceded and attended the negotiations at Lisle."

The above allusion to his two visits to Frogmore induces mention of a circumstance now becoming very obvious — the great and increasing notice with

which the Speaker was favoured by his sovereign. On the former of these occasions, which was a ball on the 2d of January, "he had the honour to converse with his Majesty for a considerable time;" and during six weeks of the preceding summer he almost constantly attended the King at reviews, and on other occasions. Possibly the arrangement which took place at no distant period might have already occurred to the royal mind, as it certainly had to that of Mr. Pitt.

The parliament re-assembled on the 21st of January for the despatch of business, when all the subjects which the Speaker had mentioned to his brother were successively brought before it. The course which the government had pursued in the recent correspondence with the Chief Consul was approved by very large majorities in both Houses: it did not, however, escape some strong remarks, as well from the regular opponents of government, as from Lord Romney, one of their usual supporters. On this occasion Mr. Fox re-appeared in the House of Commons, after a secession of more than two years, and spoke with his pristine eloquence in favour of pacific measures.

The attention of parliament was next occupied by a question of vital importance to the country — the means of remedying the scarcity of corn, resulting partly no doubt from the evils of war, but chiefly from the deficiency of the preceding harvest, which, as Lord Auckland stated in the House of Lords, amounted to at least one fourth of the usual average produce of the soil of the kingdom. Such, however, was the extreme difficulty of the question, and the impossibility of remedying it by legislative enactment,

that the only parliamentary proceeding which resulted from these inquiries was the passing an act to prevent the sale of new bread; an act which proved so extremely unpopular and inconvenient, that it was necessary to repeal it with all possible expedition in the following year.

Meanwhile the ministers were proceeding satisfactorily with the grand measure of the session, the legislative union with Ireland. In the preceding year it had been successfully resisted by the Irish parliament, but a large portion of the opposition from that quarter had now ceased. Great difficulties, however, still remained, and these were detailed to the Speaker by Colonel Littlehales, on the 4th of January, in a letter of which the substance is here given. It states that the great majority of persons of property were in favour of the union, but that the influence of the city of Dublin was strongly opposed to it; that the Speaker must not expect to see any diminution at present in the virulence of language or energy of opposition by which it would be assailed; that the county members were mostly opposed to it, whilst the friends of the measure remained passive and lukewarm; and that venal and corrupt men were naturally averse to it. It had been injurious, he added, to the cause, that whilst ample compensation had been offered to the proprietors of boroughs, none had been held out to those whom the measure would deprive of their seats. In conclusion, he alluded to the great difficulty there would be in selecting temporal peers for the united parliament, as the whole body of the Lords were anxious for a preference. Notwithstanding, however, the difficulties here described, an attempt

made at the meeting of the Irish parliament on the 15th of January, to introduce into the address a declaration hostile to the union, was defeated in the Commons by a majority of forty; and at length, on the 27th of March, both branches of the same parliament which had so recently rejected the union joined in an address to his Majesty expressing their approbation of it. When the assent of Ireland had thus been obtained, the British parliament proceeded to pass the act of union, which was then transmitted to the Irish House of Commons, where it was read for the first time on the 22d of May, after a debate which was thus described by Colonel Littlehales: — "I have the greatest satisfaction in informing you that the union bill was read a first time last night; a debate, accompanied by some warmth and acrimony, ensued, and at about eleven the House divided, when the numbers were, 160 in favour of the measure, and 100 against it." This was the last trial of strength; and on the 2d of July, this important act received the royal assent, and the two countries became one united kingdom.

During these transactions, on the 15th of May, the King's life was placed in imminent danger by James Hatfield, a person of unsound mind, who discharged a pistol at his Majesty, providentially without effect, in Drury Lane theatre. When that circumstance occurred, Mr. Pitt and the Speaker were dining *tête-à-tête;* and the latter used to relate, that "on the intelligence being brought to them from the theatre, they immediately repaired to the privy council." Hatfield was declared to be insane, and was confined in Bedlam; and many years afterwards, when he (Lord

Sidmouth) was secretary of state, an application was made for Hatfield's release on the ground of his recovery, and was referred to his Lordship for his decision. Providentially he declined to take this step without further deliberation and inquiry; and whilst the latter was proceeding, Hatfield's malady broke out more violently than ever, on occasion of the Duke of York's visiting him in Bedlam.

The letter next in order emanated from the pen of Mr. Pitt's unsuccessful negotiator, the Earl of Malmesbury; and although it is destitute of general interest or importance, it will here be presented to the reader to show the degree of respect and friendship which his Lordship professed to entertain for the Speaker only eight months before the latter accepted the government.

"My dear Sir, Bath, June 4th, 1800.

"I am truly sorry that it will not be in my power to meet you on Saturday next at the Crown and Anchor, and must entreat you to receive my excuses yourself, and to be good enough to make them to the gentlemen who may attend the committee.* I shall most readily subscribe to any resolution which may be taken, being fully satisfied that the memory and character of my good old friend and master cannot be in better hands. * * * I shall remain here about three weeks, and then go to Park Place, which I think is still likely to be mine during this summer; and I have too many inducements to be partial to it, to be in a hurry to find a purchaser. I can sincerely say the being your neighbour

* The object of this meeting of Wykhamists was to do honour to the memory of their old head master, Dr. Joseph Warton, recently deceased. The passage which has been omitted relates only to his Lordship having been ordered to Bath by Sir W. Farquhar, and to his great regret at his consequent inability to pay his duty at St. James's on that day.

rates as one of the highest of them; and although I may cease to be locally so, yet I shall carry with me wherever I go the same neighbourly regard, and ever remember gratefully your kindness to me, and especially to my son. He was well at Vienna on the 18th May, and is so advantageously placed to acquire useful information and good foreign manners and habits, that I shall recommend to him the remaining on the Continent till the next spring.

"I am, my dear Sir, with great truth and respect, your most faithful and obedient servant,

"MALMESBURY."

Events meanwhile occurred on the Continent which shattered in pieces all Mr. Pitt's combinations of the preceding year, and occasioned amongst those who judge only from results a feeling of disappointment that the recent overture for peace should have been so hastily rejected. Bonaparte, followed by an army of 60,000 men, descending with eagle swoop from the Alps into Italy, surprised the Austrians in the midst of their rejoicings at the surrender of Genoa, and obtained over them, on the 14th of June, the victory of Marengo. This decisive blow was followed by an armistice, which the Austrians purchased by the surrender of all the territory which had been wrested from the French in the preceding campaign. Meanwhile General Moreau, with the army of the Rhine, after crossing that river, had forced his way to Augsburg, where, on the 15th of July, he concluded a convention with General Kray, as a consequence of that which had been established in Italy. Bonaparte now offered peace to Austria on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio; but although these terms were more favourable than could reasonably have been expected, the Emperor magnanimously refused

to conclude any treaty to which England was not also a party. This refusal, being accompanied by an intimation that England was not indisposed to be included in a treaty for general pacification, occasioned a communication between France and Great Britain through Monsieur Otto, commissioner in London for the care of French prisoners. This, after a long correspondence, terminated unsuccessfully, the Chief Consul demanding a naval armistice as the condition of his prolonging the armistice with Austria, and the British government refusing to afford him such an advantageous opportunity of sending supplies and reinforcements to Malta and to Egypt. Thus reduced to the necessity either of renewing the war, or of entering into a treaty without his allies, the Emperor was encouraged, by a large loan from England, to prefer the former alternative; and hostilities were accordingly resumed on the 29th of November. Four days, however, sufficed for Moreau to give, at Hohenlinden, the finishing stroke to the destinies of that unfortunate monarch, to whom there now remained no expedient other than submission. Being released, therefore, by England from his engagements to that government, he concluded at Luneville a separate treaty of peace, by the terms of which the Chief Consul realised the wildest imaginations of the earlier revolutionists, by obtaining the Rhine, in its whole length, as the boundary of France.

During the progress of the correspondence with Monsieur Otto, respecting the extension of the armistice, the British cabinet had prepared, in case it should be required, a sketch of the terms on which they deemed it advisable to negotiate for peace. This

document, interesting if not important, as a protocol of the intentions of the government, will now be presented to the reader. It had slumbered amongst Mr. Pitt's papers until after the change of ministers in the following year, when, on the renewal of communications with Monsieur Otto, Lord Grenville sent it to Mr. Addington, accompanied by the following note:—

"Camelford House, April 17th, 1801.

"My dear Addington,

"I send you the paper which I mentioned to you, and which I received only yesterday from Mr. Pitt. I have no copy of it, and I will therefore beg you to return it to me; but you are fully at liberty to take a copy of it (by the hands of any body you think it right to entrust it to), and to make any use of it that can tend to the public service, or to the honour and success of your government.

"Ever most truly yours, G."

From the copy for which permission was thus given by Lord Grenville, is taken the following

"SKETCH OF A PLAN OF PEACE, 1800,

"*Settled at the Cabinet at the Time of the Discussions with Otto.*

"1st. That the possession of the Cape, Ceylon, and Cochin is to be invariably insisted on, as the *sine quâ non* condition of any treaty of peace; and that no modification is to be listened to on this subject, nor any condition inconsistent with it to be even made matter of negotiation.

"2d. That whatever places are restored to France or Holland on the Continent of India are to be held as commercial factories only, exercising power of internal jurisdiction, but so as not to interfere with the general government of the British possessions, nor to be in any case or under any pretence fortified.

"3d. That a free commerce with the British possessions in India may be granted by treaty both to France and Holland; together with such particular regulations about saltpetre and other articles, as, upon discussion, shall be found just and practicable.

"4th. That all the other conquests made by this country may be made matter of negotiation; and that, subject to the following instructions, the restitution of such part of them may be stipulated for, as shall be fairly compensated by the advantages to result to this country from the continental peace.

"With this view, it is to be observed that there are but two points in which such compensation can be made to England. These are —

"1. The evacuation of Egypt, should the French army not have quitted that country, either in consequence of the treaty signed by General Kleber, or of the attacks now meditated by the Turkish forces.

"2. Such an arrangement of affairs in Holland and the Netherlands as may rescue those countries from their present dependence on France, and afford to Europe some security for their future independence. In return for these points, and in proportion as they shall be more or less satisfactorily arranged, we are enabled to treat respecting the following objects, which comprise the whole of what we have conquered during the war, except what is specified in the first article of this paper. We have taken

"From France — Martinique, St. Lucie, Tobago, Goree, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the French factories in the East Indies:

"From Spain — Minorca and Trinidad:

"From Holland (besides what is above mentioned) — Surinam, Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo, and the Spice Islands.

"The extent of our cessions out of this list is to depend, as already stated, on what we obtain on the two points above mentioned.

"With respect to Egypt, the evacuation is all we have to ask; and we are bound, by the treaty of defensive alliance with Turkey, not to make peace without it.

"With respect to Holland, it does not appear probable that any sacrifice we could make would induce France to restore the Stadtholder, and to place the government decidedly in his hands; nor would even that arrangement be secure or permanent, unless the independence of the Netherlands were satisfactorily provided for.

"On the other hand, France can have no attachment to the actual directory or constitution in Holland. Some middle line may therefore easily be found in this respect, the real value of which will depend on the nature of the arrangements respecting the Netherlands.

"Four different arrangements may probably come in question in this respect, supposing France to abandon the claim of retaining those provinces. These are the following, stated in the order of preference, as they affect our interests:—

"1st. The connecting the settlement of the Netherlands with the exchange of Bavaria, and giving those provinces to the Elector, in addition to as considerable a portion of German territory as can be secured for him in any general arrangement on that subject that may take place.

"2d. The giving them to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in exchange for that country, which might either be given to Austria, or made, by other arrangements, the means of making a satisfactory settlement of affairs in Italy.

"3d. The giving them to some less considerable prince to hold as a separate sovereignty under the guaranty of the great powers, and possibly as annexed to the Germanic body.

"4th. The forming them into a separate and independent republic, under a government formed as nearly as possible on the grounds of their ancient constitution.

"These are the different objects to be aimed at, and in this order:—

"With respect to our conquests, we consider the restoration of the Spice Islands, and of the two settlements of Demerara and Surinam to Holland, as the least disadvantageous of all the cessions we may have to make; and although those possessions are of immense value and importance to Holland, yet the King's government does not think

that in consenting to their restitution, even as the price only of the evacuation of Egypt (but certainly if with that we obtain only the fourth of the arrangements respecting the Netherlands), any considerable sacrifice of the interests of this country would be made.

"The negotiation may more probably turn on the comparative value of the arrangements to be made respecting our other conquests, and respecting the Netherlands, according to one of the three first plans above mentioned.

"If Martinique and St. Lucie can both be retained in the West Indies, and Minorca in Europe; and Trinidad, Tobago, the small Newfoundland islands, and Goree, with the Indian factories, restored, in return for the third plan, this would be considered as a very advantageous peace to England.

"If we obtain either of the two former, we might consent to substitute Trinidad and Tobago for Martinique or St. Lucie; or we might ultimately accept one of those three islands, (considering, however, Tobago always as necessarily attached to Trinidad, if we retain that island,) together with Minorca, if by so doing we can secure the first of the plans respecting the Netherlands, or any other arrangement of those provinces equally satisfactory to us with that.

"On all other points our negotiation is to second the views of Austria; and she is to stipulate for peace for Naples and Portugal on the *status ante bellum*, no conquest having been made by France from them."

The review of these events has necessarily outrun the course of the correspondence, to which, therefore, it is now proper to revert. A letter, dated August 19th, from Mr. Pitt, informed the Speaker that, having no leisure for taking "his annual flight to Walmer," he was desirous to visit Woodley; but "being in daily expectation of Lord Castlereagh's arrival from Dublin, and of that of a mail with something more decisive from Vienna, as well as of accounts both from the Baltic and Sir James Pul-

tency, it would not be possible for him to leave the neighbourhood of town that week."

In the intimate view of Mr. Pitt's character, which the Sidmouth Papers afford, nothing perhaps is more prominent than the calmness with which he awaited momentous intelligence; the fortitude with which he received it, however unfavourable; and the hopeful alacrity with which he instantly set himself to repair the web of continental politics, even when it appeared irretrievably broken. This tendency to make the best of the most untoward events must have been sorely tried by each of the above-mentioned causes which at that time detained him in London. It is difficult, indeed, to determine which of the four — namely, the prostrate condition of Austria, our faithful ally; the disgraceful failure at Ferrol; the transit of Prussia from a state of alliance to one of hostility; or Lord Castlereagh's budget of the appliances necessary to complete the union with Ireland — must have occasioned most vexation and disappointment to his patriotic mind. Yet in his next letter, dated September 29th, some traces of that elastic spirit which had enabled him so long to weather the storm are still visible; although, at that very time, the equally sanguine correspondent to whom it was addressed was writing to his brother, respecting public events, in the following terms: — "We are, however, fiddling, whilst Rome is burning: within and without the prospect lowers." In the letter alluded to above, Mr. Pitt, after expressing in the kindest terms his intention of appointing Mr. Hiley Addington to be a Lord of the Treasury in the place of Mr. Douglas, afterwards Lord Glenbervie, proceeds as follows: — .

"We are in a state of the utmost uncertainty with respect to our public prospects; but I think it much most probable that we shall very soon find ourselves engaged either in a joint negotiation or in a separate one after an Austrian peace. The accounts brought yesterday of the new humiliation, which the Emperor has put himself at the head of his army only to court*, seems to make the latter alternative most likely to be realised. In either case, if it were not for the mention of Egypt, I should be inclined to think that peace on fit and honourable terms would not be found impracticable; but that is very likely (as far as we can yet guess) to prove the obstacle. Accounts are received to-day from Copenhagen, that the Emperor of Russia has taken off the embargo which he had laid on British property. This, as far as it goes, is fortunate. I return your letters respecting corn: I trust the prospect in that respect is mending; but unless the magistrates and gentlemen are firm in discountenancing and resisting all arbitrary reductions of price, and regulations of the mode of dealing, great mischief must follow. I trust we shall not find as great a demand as you suppose for additional force at home, where we have already much more than you are probably aware of; and there are pressing and indispensable calls for the service of most, if not all, of what is now abroad. Adieu! Ever affectionately yours,

"W. PITT."

The same firm but tranquil spirit is manifested in Mr. Pitt's answer to the Speaker's letter alluded to

* Reference is here made to the Emperor of Austria's purchasing a prolongation of the armistice for forty-five days by the surrender of the important fortresses of Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt, as securities. The Speaker, writing to his brother on the 2d October, alluded to this same proceeding in the following terms:— "I have told Pitt that this last humiliation of the Emperor, at the head of his army, and considering what had just passed at Vienna, has to me completely filled the measure of disgust. I have added that I long to see him, though I am half afraid that he would think me too pacific. The truth is, that these emperors make me so.

in the preceding note; though the failing energies of the body now betrayed their inability to keep pace with the mighty efforts of his mind.

"On the subject of peace and war," he wrote on the 8th of October, "I wish much I had an opportunity of talking with you. The negotiation for an armistice is at an end; and I think the manner in which it has been conducted and terminated will produce a good impression. We mean immediately to publish the papers. An opening is left which will remove all difficulty or awkwardness in setting on foot a negotiation, if Austria makes a separate peace, which I rather expect. And I am inclined to think, in that event, if we are firm, and our domestic difficulties do not increase, we may secure creditable and adequate terms. But as long as Austria does not withdraw and submit to a separate peace, and France refuses joint negotiation, we cannot yield to that pretension by making it our act to separate ourselves from our ally. What I wish most to know is, what ideas you entertain, or what you think are entertained by others, on the subject of terms. Will not the public feel that we must insist on retaining such part of our acquisitions as are essential, not for their own intrinsic value, but for the security of our ancient possessions in the East and West, and (for the same reason) on the French evacuating Egypt? And can we give back both Minorca and Malta, or either? These are questions not easily discussed, and still less by letter. But they will furnish you matter for reflection. After all, the question of peace or war is not in itself half so formidable as that of the scarcity with which it is necessarily combined, and for the evils and growing dangers of which I own I see no adequate remedy. These are uncomfortable speculations, and I am not the better for brooding over them during the confinement and anxiety of some weeks past. Sir Walter Farquhar even begins to threaten me with the necessity of a visit to Cheltenham or Bath, in order to be at all equal to the session. How long that can be deferred, is not yet quite ascertained.

"Ever affectionately yours, W. P."

Although Mr. Ley observed to the Speaker at this period, that "Mr. Pitt was still too sanguine in his expectations," it is impossible not to perceive symptoms of depression in the tone and spirit of the above letter. Pursuing the train of thought developed in the last sentence of it, and attracted probably to the subject by a petition recently presented by the common council to the King, praying his Majesty "to convene his parliament to take into consideration the present high price of provisions," Mr. Pitt wrote again to the Speaker the next day in the following terms: —

"Downing Street, Thursday, October 9th.

"Since I wrote to you yesterday, I have been reflecting further on an idea which many circumstances have suggested to me within these few days, and in my opinion of the propriety of which I am very much confirmed. I see nothing so likely to prevent the progress of discontent and internal mischief as what we have more than once found effectual, and cannot too much accustom the public to look up to — a speedy meeting of parliament. Even if no important legislative measure could be taken, the result of parliamentary inquiry and discussion would go further than any thing towards quieting men's minds, and checking erroneous opinions; while on the other hand, if petitions for parliament were to spread generally (as I have little doubt they will), and were to be disregarded, a ground would be given for clamour, of which the disaffected would easily avail themselves for the worst purpose. Besides, I think, in fact, there are some measures which it would be of real advantage, as well as useful, in impression, to take without delay — such as, particularly, the renewal of the measure of guaranteeing a given price to all corn and rice imported in the next twelve months, with a view particularly to the importation of rice from India, for which we have already given directions, through the Company, trusting to parliament to make good the guaranty. The renewal of the prohibition to make starch, and perhaps the stoppage of the distilleries (though measures

of less importance), may also be useful. Other provisions of a slower but more permanent operation, may perhaps be devised for encouraging further the growth of corn; and I do not wholly despair that temperate discussion might gradually appease the indiscriminate clamour against some of the most necessary classes of dealers, and reconcile the public to confining the penalties of the law solely to *combinations*, which are always criminal, or at least to speculations which can be proved to be for the purpose of unduly and artificially raising the price. There seems, at least, matter enough for some substantial proceeding not uncreditable to parliament. With respect to the question of war and peace, I rather think good instead of harm would result from discussing it on the ground on which it is placed by our late correspondence. Pray let me know what you think of all these ideas, and also (if you concur in the outline) what you think about the precise time and place of meeting. There is no chance of our present house being fit to receive us. The only places that have occurred, are, the Painted Chamber or Whitehall Chapel: I should think the former preferable. We shall probably decide this question by a cabinet to-morrow. I send this by a messenger, in the hope of receiving your answer before a late hour to-morrow. The time, I should think, would be from three weeks to a month hence; but we would regulate the day as nearly as possible by your convenience. Ever affectionately yours,

"W. P."

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Pitt did not preserve the letters which were addressed to him by Mr. Addington, until quite the close of their correspondence. The value of the opinions and suggestions contained in them may be inferred from the circumstance, that they were frequently called for, and always received with approbation. On the present occasion, as the parliament was summoned on the 11th of November, it may be presumed that the

Speaker's judgment coincided with that expressed in the preceding letter. Unfortunately, this early meeting deprived Mr. Pitt of the opportunity of seeking the permanent re-establishment of his health by a visit either to Bath or Cheltenham; and compelled a resort, during the little leisure that remained, to such temporary expedients as might patch him up for the ensuing campaign. He therefore offered himself as an invalid guest to be nursed at Woodley, which place he reached on or before the 19th of October, and where for about three weeks he was attended to by his friend, with all that affectionate anxiety which belongs to so tried and almost fraternal an intimacy. Writing to his brother on the above-mentioned day, the Speaker observed:—

"Pitt is now here. It is to me most gratifying that his wishes anticipated mine, and led him to think of Woodley before I proposed it to him. It is, of course, desirable that his indisposition should not be talked of. He is certainly better, but I am still very far from being at ease about him. Sir Wr. Farquhar is to be here on Tuesday, and it will then be determined whether he is to remain here or proceed to Bath or Cheltenham. My opinions and wishes incline the same way. He wants rest and consolation, and I trust he will find both here. The feelings towards him, not of myself, for of those I say nothing, but of others under this roof, are really not to be described."

In a letter addressed to the same party a week afterwards, the Speaker mentioned, with surprise and pleasure, the amelioration which had taken place in Mr. Pitt's health during the interval:—

"Woodley, Oct. 26th.

"I ought to have written to you sooner, but I have been constantly occupied for the last three or four days. Pitt,

thank God, is recovered beyond my expectations, and greatly beyond those of Sir W. Farquhar, who saw him here on Wednesday last, and strongly advised his continuance in his present quarters. Cheltenham, I really believe, would be of service to him; but at present it is a scene of too much gaiety and bustle. He seems perfectly happy, and I must say that Woodley has never been more pleasant to myself. * * * To-day we expect George Rose upon business: he will stay till Tuesday. His coming is fortunate, as I am to dine to-morrow with my corps. It is a great satisfaction to me that we shall have an opportunity of meeting here before the meeting in the Painted Chamber."

A letter from the Speaker to Mr. Pole Carew, written on the 30th, thus notices the continued progress of the illustrious patient: — "Pitt is still here, and deriving considerable benefit from the air and quiet of Woodley." At length, on the 5th of November, the same party reported to his brother the termination of a visit so propitious to Mr. Pitt, who had gone to Woodley broken down by anxiety, and left it greatly renovated both in health and spirits: "Pitt has just left us: he had been so long one of the family, that the separation was very painful to all parties."

After rejoicing for a single day with his brother, at Mr. Pitt's appointment of the latter to be a Lord of the Treasury, the Speaker immediately followed his friend into the turmoils of public duty. But before he enters on the occurrences of the session, the author desires to light up the gloomy picture of continental humiliation and domestic scarcity which the state of affairs then presented, by inserting a letter written about that period by Marquis Wellesley, which contains the earliest allusion to one whom no

Briton can now hear mentioned without experiencing sensations of pride and satisfaction. His Lordship was painfully disappointed at receiving no higher reward for his splendid services than an Irish marquisate; and the undisguised expression which he now gave to this feeling in writing to his friend occasions the omission of the former portion of the letter, and also affords an explanation of the last sentence in the extract inserted below.

[Private.]

"My dear Mr. Speaker, Fort William, Oct. 9th, 1800.

"We continue to prosper here. My brother Arthur has distinguished himself most brilliantly in an expedition against an insurgent, who had collected a great force of predatory cavalry—the wreck of Tippoo's army. We have now proved —a perfect novelty in India—that we can hunt down the lightest footed and most rapid armies, as well as we can destroy heavy troops and storm strong fortifications. This is a most important object. The only power of any importance in India is the Mahrattah. Their force, of any value, consists entirely of cavalry, precisely of the nature of that destroyed by Colonel Wellesley. Pray remember me kindly to all your family. * * * My brother Henry is not yet arrived; but I hear from his letters that he will bring me no satisfaction, nor can any thing remedy my present disappointment, excepting the change of my —— Irish buttermilk into good English ale. Ever, dear Mr. Speaker, yours most affectionately and sincerely,

"WELLESLEY."

The King convoked his parliament on the 11th of November, on which occasion the Commons assembled in the Painted Chamber, whilst St. Stephen's Chapel was preparing for the accommodation of one hundred additional members from Ireland. His Majesty's

speech, which was re-echoed by both Houses after a mere show of opposition, dwelt principally on the scarcity, and on the means of diminishing its pressure by the immediate importation of foreign corn, by diminishing the consumption of grain, by the encouragement of agriculture, and by revising the laws of commerce respecting the various articles of provision. Whilst the parliament was deliberating on these remedial measures, the Speaker received numerous communications on the same subject, the substance of which will here be communicated. It appears that much difference of opinion prevailed with reference to the productiveness of the late harvest; that in several parts of the kingdom—Cornwall, Cheshire, Kent, and Oxfordshire for instance—the produce of wheat and barley had been abundant; the weather, excepting one week, favourable; and the quality of the grain not inferior; all the correspondents, moreover, agreed, that the harvest had been more productive than that of 1799; but on the other hand, many of them asserted, that although the crops up to the period of harvest had been very promising, they were then subjected to a fatal mildew; that great injury also had been occasioned to them by the rains which fell at that critical period; that from these united causes, a considerable deficiency had resulted; and, finally, that the scarcity of the preceding year, by leaving no stores in the granaries, had necessarily aggravated all these evils, which the continuance of the war had tended still further to increase: that the *highest* price at which wheat was sold this autumn was 1*l.* 1*s.* per bushel, the *average* price about 14*s.* or 16*s.*; but that in Cornwall, where,

as stated by Mr. Giddy and Colonel Elford, the crop of all kinds of grain had been excellent — the produce of wheat being as four to one of that of the preceding year — it amounted at this time only to 9*s.* or 10*s.*

In reviewing these facts, it forcibly strikes us upon what slight causes the prosperity of nations often depends. The apparently promising season of 1800 was suddenly converted into a year of famine, chiefly by a few rainy days occurring at a critical period. According to Mr. Hatsell, who wrote on the 12th of September, "but for the interruption of one week, they had then experienced thirteen weeks of fine and warm weather; whilst in Cornwall, they actually attributed the failure of their potato crop to the universal drought." Yet those few days of rain produced consequences, for which Mr. Pitt confessed, that "he could not see an adequate remedy;" and compared with which, he considered the great "question of peace or war was not half so formidable." This admission of England's wisest statesman shows how little real control mankind have over the sources of their prosperity; and how entirely dependent they are, even for the means of subsistence, on the mercy and protection of Divine Providence. Happy would it be for nations and individuals, if they would extract the truth from such lessons as these; and instead of fixing their sole dependence upon their own expedients and devices, would look up to that unerring wisdom, which causeth the bud to swell, and the ear to ripen, which "giveth us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness."

It is not necessary to detain the reader with a re-

cital of the proceedings during the remainder of this session. It will suffice to observe, that whatever man could do to mitigate the visitation of scarcity, the wisdom of parliament effected; and that committees were appointed by both Houses, to inquire as to the high price of provisions, whose recommendations of various remedial measures were adopted with an unusual degree of unanimity.

During these proceedings, Lord Nelson returned to reap the meed of his glorious achievements; and took his seat in the House of Lords on the 20th of November. That the acquaintance previously subsisting between his Lordship and the Speaker now quickly expanded into intimacy, those who knew the partiality of the latter for heroic characters will readily imagine. The earliest recorded traces of this intimacy are found in the following sentences, extracted from a letter addressed to General Simcoe, on the 13th of December.

"I received your letter within a few minutes after I had parted with Lord Nelson; our conversation visited the coast of Spain, and you was mentioned in the course of it. He is a most extraordinary man: his view of the present state of Europe is that of a well constructed, and well informed mind, engrossed by, and devoted to, the cause of his country. I wish you to be acquainted with him, and I should rejoice to see you on service together."

Preparations for the first meeting of the parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for which the proceedings had on occasion of the union with Scotland were used as the precedent, occupied at this period much of Mr. Pitt's attention; and on the 27th of December he addressed a long

letter to the Speaker respecting the proper mode of terminating the session, whether by prorogation, or according to the same form, which was followed by order of the commissioners, on the day preceding the union with Scotland. The last-mentioned method was at length resolved on, and upon Wednesday, the 31st of December, the King attended in person, and after having delivered his speech, "commanded the Lord Chancellor to direct proclamation to be made, declaring the Lords and Commons of that parliament to be members of the first parliament of the United Kingdom; and commanding the said parliament to assemble on the 22d day of January then next ensuing." On this occasion, the Speaker did not depart from the customary practice of addressing his Majesty at the close of the session; and as this was his last fulfilment of that duty, and, moreover, the last proceeding of the last session of the British Parliament, a copy of his address is here subjoined.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"The bill now tendered to your Majesty by your faithful Commons completes the provision which has been made for the several branches of the public service, till that period when your Majesty will receive the advice and assistance of your parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Impressed with a well-grounded confidence in the strength and resources of the empire, and partaking, as they earnestly do, of that solicitude for the restoration of peace, of which your Majesty has given a recent, though unavailing proof, your Commons are convinced that nothing can contribute more effectually to the accomplishment of that great object, than to manifest the ability and determination of this country to be fully prepared for the further prosecution of a contest, the continuance of which may justly be ascribed to the unwarrantable pretensions of the enemy.

"But on no occasion has the attention of your parliament been more deeply and anxiously engaged than by those important considerations to which it was peculiarly directed at the opening of the present session, in consequence of your Majesty's paternal concern for the welfare and comfort of your people. To alleviate, to the utmost of their power, the pressure upon all descriptions of their fellow-subjects, and upon the poorer classes in particular, your Commons have deemed to be the first and the most urgent of their duties. The measures adopted for this purpose are those which, they trust, are best calculated to afford substantial and extensive relief, and to provide for the necessary demands of the year. Much of their efficacy must, however, depend upon that temper, good sense, and fortitude, which this country has displayed under the severest trials, and which were never more conspicuous than at the present conjuncture.

"These, Sire, the last proceedings of your parliament previous to the great era now on the point of commencing, are the indication and result of that common interest and fellow-feeling with the people, by which it has ever been actuated, and which are the best safeguard of all that is most valuable in society. To that era your Commons look forward with a confident expectation that the consolidated wisdom and authority of the legislature of Great Britain and Ireland, under the auspicious government of your Majesty, and of your illustrious house, will diffuse throughout every part of the United Kingdom the full benefits of that constitution which has been proved to be favourable, in an unexampled degree, to the enjoyment of civil liberty and public prosperity; and which cannot, therefore, fail to animate the zeal and determination of those who may share its blessings, to cherish and maintain it in their own times, and to transmit it as the best inheritance to their posterity."

The brief repose which followed this relaxation of the Speaker's labours, was essential to the restoration of his health, which, as he informed Gen. Simcoe in the letter already quoted, had suffered from the

anxiety of the period. A rumour of this indisposition appears to have also reached Dr. Huntingford, and to have imparted a tone of melancholy to the letter in which that faithful friend conveyed his accustomed benedictions, on the conclusion of another year. "In the course of the last ten days, my thoughts have very frequently turned towards you. The progress of public business shows, indeed, that you have forced yourself to discharge official duties; but I am still apprehensive you are not so perfectly well as could be wished. For the sake of yourself and family; for my happiness, and that of your other friends; for the advantage of the community, and benefit of the country at large, may the Almighty long preserve and bless you; and with this prayer do I close the year."

CHAPTER X.

1801.

Alarming State of Public Affairs at the Commencement of the 19th Century. Letter from Sir Wm. Scott, and the Speaker's Answer. Meeting of the First United Parliament. Re-election of the Speaker. The Catholic Question, and Mr. Pitt's Conduct thereon. Scruples of the King. His Majesty's first Letter to the Speaker. Communication with Mr. Pitt. Endeavours at Accommodation. The Government offered to Mr. Addington, who accepts the Premiership. Letter from Mrs. Bragge. Letters from the King on forming a new Administration. The Speaker resigns the Chair of the House of Commons — Is succeeded by Sir John Mitford. Commencement of the King's Illness. His Majesty's Reception of his new Ministers. Continuance of his Majesty's Indisposition.

The commencement of the nineteenth century was a mighty crisis in the affairs of men. At that period, as if we had not already a sufficiency of foreign enemies, a confederacy of the three northern powers, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, had proceeded to such lengths in opposition to our maritime rights, as to compel Great Britain to take a decided course in vindication of her legitimate claims. This involved a question which the King, as he observed to Mr. Dundas, had regretted to see "constantly avoided for the last twenty years, but which must now be brought to an issue, or the boasted power of Britain as a

maritime state would be entirely at an end." Intelligence of the first overt step taken to bring the subject to an issue, was conveyed to the Speaker by his friend and future father-in-law Sir William Scott, then Judge of the Admiralty Court, in the following letter, not dated, but written early in January, 1801.

"My dear Sir,

"I write particularly to inquire after your health, and shall be happy to hear that it has received all the benefit you could wish. You have a great deal to encounter this winter. Bring a surplus quantity of health and spirits with you. We are got into very grave times, and they must be met with firm and well-braced nerves.

'Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.'

"The news of the day you in all probability have from other communications; but it is possible you may not be apprised that an order of council passed about two hours ago from my present writing, to seize all Russian, Danish, and Swedish ships—in the ports, or to be met with at sea. The order issued upon certain information that their governments had signed a convention of armed neutrality. There is no certain proof that Prussia has done the like, and therefore the order does not extend to her subjects; but there is strong reason to suppose that she means to accede to it, and that the same measures must be resorted to against that government. It is hoped that this vigorous step may intimidate and disunite them; particularly if followed up by other measures affecting their commerce and remote establishments. It *may* have this effect, and it *may not;* and we ought to calculate as if it will not, and provide accordingly. It is a tremendous mass of force we have to meet in arms: the veteran legions of France lining their own coasts, and those of Holland, and keeping us on the alert on every point of our extended shores; whilst a strong naval enemy keeps us in full employ in the north. But we fight for every thing! and

I hope the spirit and strength of the country are equal to the occasion. * * * * *

"I am, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

"WILL^M. SCOTT."

To this the subjoined reply was given: —

"My dear Sir, Woodley, Jan. 14th, 1801.

"Many thanks to you for your kind inquiries. Woodley has done all that I expected, and I see no reason to doubt of my returning to town quite as well as I was before my last attack. Lord Bolingbroke, in one of his publications, says, 'If ever there was a time for the trial of spirits, it is now;' and this is surely more applicable at the present time than when he wrote. We are indeed arrived at a great crisis; and it is only by measures wisely concerted and vigorously executed, and by steadiness and firmness in the government, in parliament, and in the feelings and opinions of the public, that its difficulties can be surmounted. I look forward to a severe struggle; but I am also sanguine enough to look forward, with something perhaps too much like confidence, to a glorious issue: for such it will be, unless we fail completely, which God avert! * * * * *

"I am, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

Whilst the Speaker, during the short recess, was bracing his health and nerves at his retreat in Berkshire, to encounter the labours of the first session of the parliament of the United Kingdom, an event, utterly unforeseen by himself and the whole nation, was silently approaching its development. Although it is difficult to imagine, that, during the unusually confidential intercourse of the preceding autumn, Mr. Pitt should not have given the Speaker some general idea, at least, of what was passing in his mind respecting the Roman Catholics, the correspondence contains no intimation to that effect. The Speaker, it

seems, received no letter from Mr. Pitt during his stay in Berkshire; and he returned to his attendance in parliament, on the 22d of January, in total unconsciousness of the impending arrangement, in which he himself held so deep a stake.

This being the first session of the first parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, it was considered necessary that a fresh appointment of a Speaker should take place; and consequently, when the parliament was opened by commission, the Commons were instructed to proceed to another election. The former Speaker, it scarcely need be stated, was unanimously elected to the chair for the fourth time, having been recommended to the House by Mr. Pelham and Mr. Yorke, as mover and seconder, and supported further by Mr. Wilberforce, who said he was "anxious to discharge what he considered a debt of gratitude to the right honourable gentleman, for the unremitting attention he had paid, as well to private as to public business." When the Speaker had thus, in the most complimentary manner, been reconducted to the chair which he was destined to occupy for only a few evenings longer, both Houses proceeded to the swearing in of members, until the 2d of February. During this unusually long interval, a difference of opinion unhappily arose on a subject of great importance, between the King and his ministers; the latter, being desirous to mark the new century, and celebrate the opening of the imperial parliament, by removing all impediments to Roman Catholics enjoying a full share of political power and privileges with their fellow-subjects of the Established Church. It will shortly be seen that Earl Spencer mentioned to his Majesty, on the 5th of February, that the preceding month of

August was the period when the cabinet first took this subject under consideration. Certain it is, that when Mr. Pitt introduced his propositions for an union in January, 1799, he not only refrained from giving any pledge to repeal the Test Act, but intimated, in a very intelligible manner, that no such step ought to be taken until "the conduct of the Roman Catholics should be such as to make it safe for the government to admit them to further privileges, and until the temper of the times should be favourable to such a measure." In the papers intrusted to him, the author finds no fresh evidence explanatory of the reasons why Mr. Pitt, only six months after making the above declarations, allowed his better judgment to be led astray on this subject, and "submitted to be guided, where he ought himself to have directed." His biographer emphatically denies that he ever authorised any promise or pledge to be given that he would bring forward or support the Catholic question*; still, however, he might have felt himself hampered by the communications which had taken place in Ireland between the friends of the government and the Catholic leaders, in order to induce the latter to favour the union. Whether, however, he was led to this change of policy by his own judgment, or through the suggestions of his colleagues, certain it is that he now coincided in opinion with the majority of the cabinet, that it was desirable the dawn of the union should be ushered in by the concession of the Catholic question, and that a recommendation to that effect should be introduced into the speech

* Gifford's Life of Pitt, vol. vi. p. 547.

from the throne. Here, however, an insuperable difficulty arose. It had now become indispensable to obtain the consent of the Crown, and his Majesty, who, up to this time had been kept by his cabinet in entire ignorance of their intentions, entertained, with the bulk of his subjects, rooted objections to the proposed concessions. Mr. Dundas undertook the delicate and difficult task of influencing the royal mind. No attempt, however, of this nature appears to have been made until Sunday, the 1st of February*, and then it totally failed in removing the King's scruples, which were founded on the most honourable and conscientious motives. It is, indeed, quite surprising that, after seventeen years' experience which the cabinet possessed, of their royal master's undeviating firmness and integrity, any other result to such a proposition should for a moment have been anticipated. Meanwhile that great personage had at length obtained, through some other channel †, the information which his ministers had hitherto so strangely withheld from him. It now, therefore, became necessary for his Majesty to decide between separation from his present most able and faithful minister, to whom he had long been cordially attached, and the fulfilment of, as he believed, an imperative duty to his God and his people; and, guided by his coronation oath, which bound him, under the most awful sanctions, "*to maintain to the utmost of his power the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established*

* See the King's letter to Mr. Addington, dated Feb. 7th.

† It has been stated, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Loughborough, and Lord Auckland.

by law," his Majesty felt no hesitation as to the course he ought to pursue. Having, therefore, recently honoured the Speaker with a considerable share of his notice, and being thence aware that his sentiments on the question now at issue coincided with his own, he at once wrote to Mr. Addington, commanding his immediate attendance at the Queen's house.*

It is after much hesitation, and not without a strong feeling of anxiety, that the veil which has hitherto concealed the circumstances of the intercourse between George III. and Mr. Addington from the public view is now removed. He who incurs this responsibility is fully conscious of the injury which must result to the best interests of the country, if the practice of submitting royal correspondence to general perusal should impose any restraint, in time to come, on the most confidential and unreserved communication between the Crown and its first minister. Sometimes, however, it happens that a practice, censurable upon general grounds, becomes, from peculiar circumstances, excusable, if not altogether justifiable; and there are two constraining motives to be pleaded in the present instance, which certainly encourage an expectation that the publication of a part of the royal letters addressed to Mr. Addington will be regarded, by that class of readers whose approval is an author's best reward, in this light. The first of these is, that Lord Sidmouth, in his latter years, frequently intimated his wish and expectation, that the gracious expressions of his approving sovereign should, at a suitable

* This was three days before the ministers communicated their intentions to the King through Mr. Dundas.

conjuncture, be communicated to the public; and the second is, that in the numerous letters which this paternal and virtuous monarch addressed to his minister no sentiments can be found which do not tend to increased admiration of his Majesty's character, or which a being, of a purer and higher nature than our own, would blush to record. In the subsequent retirement of him to whom they were addressed these letters proved a frequent source of interest and delight. From time to time he submitted them to the Duke of Gordon, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Stowell, and a few others whom he most delighted to honour: occasionally, he recited favourite passages from them in his hours of relaxation; and to the last his family might observe this venerable man stealing away to the cabinet which contained his cherished treasures, that he might feast his eyes with the well-known writing of his beloved old master, and enliven the present with the recollection of the past.

In addition to the immediate object of explaining Mr. Addington's conduct, the publication of this correspondence will afford, it is believed, the most satisfactory proof that the line of conduct pursued by the King on this momentous occasion was only adopted under an imperative sense of duty, and after the fullest consideration of the subject. So entirely, indeed, did his Majesty, from first to last, regard this as a question of principle and conscience, that as early as March, 1795, he consulted Lord Chief Justice Kenyon respecting it, and received from that distinguished judge the two elaborate replies which, in May, 1827, were published in the form of a pamphlet by Doctor Phillpotts. His Lordship's opinion, how-

ever, cannot be supposed to have afforded the King much assistance upon the point respecting which the royal mind chiefly required satisfaction, namely, the interpretation proper to be placed on the coronation oath, since it only referred the decision of that matter to his Majesty's private judgment. "It seems to me," his Lordship observed, "that the judgment of the person who takes the coronation oath must determine whether any particular statute proposed does destroy the government of the Established Church.* It seems that the oath, couched in the general terms in which it is found, does not preclude the party sworn from exercising a judgment whether that which he is bound to maintain will be essentially, or in any great degree, affected by the proposed measure." Thus thrown back upon himself, and desirous, therefore, of further advice, it appears that the conscientious monarch, when the question was revived at the Union, applied to his chancellor, Lord

* Lord Kenyon's Letter to the King. — In that document his Lordship stated that "provided sound policy and a sense of the duty they owed to the established religion of the country did not operate on their minds, there was no statute law to prevent either of the Houses of Parliament from abolishing the whole government and discipline of the Church of England as by law established; no danger being apprehended from those quarters at the time of the Revolution. But that was not the case as regarded the King. Recent misconduct in the reign of James II. occasioned the coronation oath to exact from the King that he would 'maintain the Protestant reformed religion established by law.'"

The necessary inference from the above facts appears to be, that of the three branches of the legislature the British constitution imposes especially on the Crown the obligation of defending the Church of England against all innovations or alterations likely to affect its stability.

Loughborough, and received from his Lordship, in reply, the important paper appended to this volume*, which was found deposited in the same box with the letters addressed by the King to Mr. Addington. The probable history of the document is this,—that it was submitted to Mr. Addington by the King, for perusal, prior to his Majesty's indisposition in February, 1801, and that, in the anxiety occasioned by that event, it was overlooked and forgotten to be returned. The only excuse that can here be alleged for its publication is, a strong conviction of its importance, both from its intrinsic value, and as a link in the history of these transactions.

It is now necessary to revert to the narrative, which, it will be recollected, has been conducted to the period when his Majesty addressed his first letter to the Speaker. And if the reasons already stated are not considered as fully justifying a practice, of which the tendency, in many instances, is doubtless injurious, additional excuses might be founded on the very peculiar nature of this case; on the importance of justifying the sovereign for his persevering resistance to the wishes of some millions of his subjects; and, lastly, on the fact that Lord Sidmouth himself selected such of the King's letters to him as he deemed not unsuitable for publication, and destroyed the remainder. In a hope, therefore, that these motives for uncovering the royal sanctuary will receive a candid and indulgent interpretation, the following earliest communication from his Majesty King George III., to the Speaker of the House of Commons, is now submitted to public perusal.

* See Appendix.

"Queen's House, Jan. 29th, 1801.

"The Speaker of the House of Commons, I trust, is so sensible of the high regard I have for the uprightness of his private character, as well as of his ability and temper in the fulfilling his public trust, that he will not be surprised at my desire of communicating to him the very strong apprehensions I conceive, that the most mischievous measure is in contemplation, to be brought forward in the first session of the parliament of the United Kingdom, and this by one styling himself a friend to administration — I mean Lord Castlereagh: this is no less than the placing the Roman Catholics of the kingdom in an equal state of right to sit in both houses of parliament, and hold offices of trust and emolument, with those of the Established Church. It is suggested by those best informed that Mr. Pitt favours this opinion. That Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas do, I have the fullest proof; they having intimated as much to me, who have certainly not disguised to them my abhorrence of the idea, and my feeling it as a duty, should it ever be brought forward, publicly to express my disapprobation of it, and that no consideration could ever make me give my consent to what I look upon as the destruction of the Established Church; which, by the wisdom of parliament, I, as well as my predecessors, have been obliged to take an oath at our coronations to support.*

* The following anecdote, showing the King's deeply earnest and conscientious feelings on the subject of the coronation oath, was communicated to Lord Sidmouth at the time of the agitation of the Catholic question on the 6th of March, 1821, by General Garth, then "retired from the noise and bustle of this world, and preparing, as he humbly trusted, for a better:"—"At the time you succeeded the late Mr. Pitt, being in waiting on my late revered and beloved royal master, I one day repaired to Buckingham House for the usual morning ride. Soon after the King was on horseback he called me to come nearer to him, when he said, 'I have not had any sleep this night, and feel very bilious and unwell.' I replied, 'I hoped his ride would do him good.' He then told me it was in consequence of Mr. Pitt's applying to him to consent to Catholic emancipation. On our arrival at Kew he ordered me to

"This idea of giving equal rights to all Christian churches is contrary to the law of every form of government in Europe; for it is well known that no quiet could subsist in any country where there is not a church establishment.

"I should be taking up the Speaker's time very uselessly if I said more, as I know we think alike on this great subject. I wish he would, from himself, open Mr. Pitt's eyes on the danger arising from the agitating this improper question, which may prevent his ever speaking to me on a subject on which I can scarcely keep my temper, and also his giving great apprehension to every true member of our church, and, indeed, I should think [to] all those who with temper consider that such a change must inevitably unhinge our excellent and happy constitution, and be most exactly following the steps of the French revolution.

"I have adopted this method of conveying my sentiments to the Speaker, as I thought he would not choose to be summoned by me when he could not have assigned the reason of it; but should this ill-judged measure still come forward, I shall then, from the notoriety of the case, think myself justified in setting all etiquettes aside, and desiring the Speaker to come here.

"GEORGE R."

The Speaker was enjoying the congratulations of Prince William of Gloucester and of several private

attend him to the library; and when there, asked me if I knew where to find his coronation oath. I said, 'In Blackstone;' but I think I found it in Burnet's History of the Reformation. I was commanded to read it to him, which I did, and then followed quickly an exclamation, 'Where is that power on earth to absolve me from the due observance of every sentence of that oath, particularly the one requiring me to "maintain the Protestant reformed religion?" Was not my family seated on the throne for that express purpose? And shall I be the first to suffer it to be undermined, perhaps overturned? No; I had rather beg my bread from door to door throughout Europe than consent to any such measure.' These words," the General added, "I am ready to attest if called upon, and am of opinion they ought to be written in letters of gold."

friends on his re-election, when he received the above most unexpected communication. He immediately went to Mr. Pitt, in the anxious hope that he might succeed in persuading him to relinquish all further agitation of the question; and in this he so far believed he had succeeded, that in his answer to the King he encouraged his Majesty to expect a satisfactory arrangement. No copy of this letter has been preserved; but its tenour may be gathered from the following gracious note written in reply, which is dated

"Queen's House, Jan. 31st, 1801.

"The King has just received Mr. Speaker's letter, and is highly pleased at the just grounds to hope that Mr. Pitt will see the impropriety of his giving countenance to a proposition not less big with danger than absurdity. He shall be highly gratified by seeing the Speaker either this evening or to-morrow at eight o'clock, whichever may be most convenient.

"GEORGE R."

Before, however, the Speaker could obey the above command, which he did that same evening, the horizon had again become overshadowed. It was now ascertained that Mr. Pitt persisted in his original determination, either to bring forward the proposition or to resign; and already the King had been led to expect a written communication from him to that effect. Upon the Speaker's arrival, therefore, in the royal presence, his Majesty immediately desired him to undertake the conduct of affairs*; and when he earnestly requested to be excused, the King said to him, in the most emphatic manner, "Lay your hand upon your heart, and ask yourself where I am to turn for support if *you* do not stand by me." And undoubtedly

* Mr. Abbot's diary.

this was a question which the Speaker must have found it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to answer satisfactorily. Such, however, was his reluctance to accept a station which would have been to many others the highest object of ambition, that he resolved again to endeavour to reconcile matters; and with this object, on retiring from the King's presence, he a second time consulted Mr. Pitt, whose reply showed that he viewed the question in the same light in which his Majesty had done: "I see nothing but ruin, Addington, if you hesitate."*

On the following morning, Sunday, February 1st, the King received the expected communication from Mr. Pitt, and finding it, as he had anticipated, unsatisfactory, his Majesty immediately desired the attendance of the Speaker in the subjoined note:—

"Queen's House, Feb. 1st, 1801.

"The King has received this morning the expected paper from Mr. Pitt. He is desirous of returning an answer to it in the course of the day, as he cannot bear to keep a man whom he both loves and respects under a most unpleasant state of suspense, when, on the real matter of the communication, his Majesty's opinion is most completely and unalterably formed. He therefore is desirous of seeing Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons this forenoon as early as Mr. Addington's attendance at divine worship may be over, and that he will then come here in his walking dress, as the King would wish to have his safe opinion as to the mode of conveying sentiments that certainly will be affectionate, though the determination cannot be pleasing; but these are meant to be so couched as to stave off the evil, though without [encouraging] the smallest hope of ever giving way, where con-

* Family Recollections; and Mr. Milnes Gaskell's notes of Lord Sidmouth's Conversations.

science and every duty to the country point out the culpability that must attend the King's departing from what he feels to be his religious and civil duty.

"GEORGE R."

In accordance with the intention expressed above, the King's reply to Mr. Pitt was despatched on the same day. In character, it precisely corresponded with the sketch given of it in his Majesty's letter, and it left as wide an opening as could be devised for Mr. Pitt to recede. The reply of that gentleman, however, was conceived in terms equally unbending with those of his former letter; and on the 5th, the King put an end to the correspondence by courteously announcing his intention to "make a new arrangement without unnecessary delay." These documents have already been published as a pamphlet; but the difficulty of procuring them in that shape, and their importance in elucidating the high moral tone and character of his Majesty's sentiments and conduct, induce the author to make, at this point, somewhat copious extracts from the two earlier letters of the series.

From Mr. Pitt to the King.

"Downing Street, Jan. 31st, 1801.

"Mr. Pitt would have felt it, at all events, his duty, previous to the meeting of parliament, to submit to your Majesty the result of the best consideration which your confidential servants could give to the important questions respecting the Catholics and Dissenters, which must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union. The knowledge of your Majesty's general indisposition to any change of the laws on this subject would have made this a painful task to him; and it is become much more so by learning from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, within these few days, the

extent to which your Majesty entertains and has declared that sentiment.

"He trusts your Majesty will believe that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment, must make him look to your Majesty's ease and satisfaction in preference to all considerations but those arising from a sense of what, in his honest opinion, is due to the real interest of your Majesty and your dominions. Under the impression of that opinion, he has concurred in what appeared to be the prevailing sentiments of the majority of the cabinet, — that the admission of the Catholics and Dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to parliament (from which latter the Dissenters are not now excluded), would, under certain circumstances to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom.

"For himself he is, on full consideration, convinced that the measure would be attended with no danger to the Established Church, or to the Protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland: that, now the Union has taken place, and with the new provisions which would make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight in office or in parliament either to Catholics or Dissenters as could give them any new means, if they were so disposed, of attacking the Establishment."

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Mr. Pitt proceeded to observe—

"That the dangerous principles formerly held by the Catholics have long been declining, and among the higher orders have ceased to prevail. * * * That with respect, also, to the Catholics of Ireland, another most important additional security, and one of which the effect would continually increase, might be provided, by gradually attaching the popish clergy to the government, and, for this purpose, making them dependent for a part of their provision (under proper regulations) on the state, and by also subjecting them to superintendence and control. That, besides these provisions, the general interests of the Established Church and the security of the constitution and government, might be

effectually strengthened by requiring the political test before referred to from the preachers of all Catholic or Dissenting congregations, and from the teachers of schools of every denomination.

"It is on these principles," he added, "that Mr. Pitt humbly conceives a new security might be obtained for the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of this country, more applicable to the present circumstances, more free from objection, and more effectual in itself, than any which now exists; and which would, at the same time, admit of extending such indulgences as must conciliate the higher orders of the Catholics, and, by furnishing to a large class of your Majesty's Irish subjects a proof of the good will of the united parliament, afford the best chance of giving full effect to the great object of the Union — that of tranquillising Ireland, and attaching it to this country." * * *

From the King's Answer.

"Queen's House, Feb. 1st, 1801.

"I should not do justice to the warm impulse of my heart if I entered on the subject most unpleasant to my mind without first expressing that the cordial affection I have for Mr. Pitt, as well as high opinion of his talents and integrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occasion; but a sense of religious as well as political duty has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, consider the oath that the wisdom of our forefathers has enjoined the kings of this realm to take at their coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony with taking the sacrament, as so binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our constitution is placed, namely, the Church of England, being the established one, and that those who hold employments in the state must be members of it, and consequently obliged, not only to take oaths against popery, but to receive the holy communion agreeably to the rites of the Church of England. This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy this groundwork of our happy constitution, and much more so that now men-

tioned by Mr. Pitt, which is no less than the complete overthrow of the whole fabric."

Mr. Pitt's biographer, when he wrote his life, could not have seen this correspondence, and, probably, was not even aware of its existence. Had he read it, he would have found additional reason for his remark, that "though Mr. Pitt often alluded to securities by which he hoped to render the contemplated concessions to the Catholics innocuous, he never explained the precise nature of those additional ramparts with which he purposed to fence round the constitution in church and state:" for even here, whilst explaining his plan to the King, he alludes to "securities" only in the most casual manner, as "certain conditions *to be* specified;" and again, as "*new provisions which would make part of the plan:*" modes of expression which do not appear to indicate either a clear perception of their character, or much confidence in their efficacy.

During the interval between the 1st and the 5th of February, the Speaker still employed himself "in attempting to reconcile matters, of which," as he informed Mr. Abbot, "there had been hopes," until the King sent his final answer to Mr. Pitt upon the last-mentioned day. Then, finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he, in the following letter, dutifully accepted the honourable but arduous charge which his Majesty was so anxious to intrust to him.

Copy of a Letter from the Speaker to the King.

"Feb. 5th, 1801.

"As it unfortunately appears that the earnest wishes of your Majesty, in which every public and private feeling have led the Speaker of the House of Commons to concur, have

been frustrated, he conceives it to be his duty to express his humble acquiescence in that part of your Majesty's determination which relates immediately to himself. He trusts your Majesty is persuaded that he must be impressed with all the gratitude, so justly due, for those gracious assurances of confidence and support with which your Majesty has condescended to honour and encourage him.

"Nothing, he is sure, could be more grateful to the feelings of Mr. Pitt, as nothing can be more kind and explicit, than the manner in which your Majesty proposes to express your sentiments to him. But the Speaker ventures to assure your Majesty, from his own personal knowledge, that Mr. Pitt has not an idea of bringing forward the measure in question, or of promoting the agitation of it from any other quarter. The wish expressed in Mr. Pitt's letter is founded solely on the considerations which he has there stated, and which were dictated by what he conceived to be most conducive to your Majesty's service. The Speaker, therefore, presumes to express a hope that, in signifying to Mr. Pitt your Majesty's gracious compliance with his wishes respecting Mr. Long*, your Majesty may think it proper to omit the reference to Mr. Pitt's supposed motive for sending the warrant at this time, which the Speaker is empowered to assure your Majesty did not operate in any degree upon Mr. Pitt's mind, as he was on the point of making this request when the circumstances took place which led to the late discussion. The Speaker is at the same time authorised, and, indeed, impelled to state, in terms suggested by Mr. Pitt himself, that it is his genuine and decided opinion that the strength and efficiency of your Majesty's government require that there should be no delay in carrying into effect those measures

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* The following is the manner in which, through the Speaker's suggestion, His Majesty finally expressed himself respecting Mr. Pitt's wishes in favour of Mr. Long: — "The box from Mr. Pitt contained two letters and a warrant in favour of Mr. Long. I cannot have the smallest difficulty in signing the proposed warrant, as I think him a very valuable man, and know how much Mr. Pitt esteems him."

which are become, he conceives, more necessary in consequence of the unalterable opinions of your Majesty and himself.

"The Speaker will not defer communicating with Mr. Pitt respecting the precise time and mode of taking those measures. It cannot but be desirable that the intimation to the persons particularly named in your Majesty's note*, of the wish that they should retain their respective situations, should proceed from your Majesty in the first instance. But he presumes to entreat that the intimation may be suspended till he has been enabled to communicate to your Majesty the result of further conversation on these points with Mr. Pitt. He is not aware of any circumstance that need interfere with your Majesty's intention of going to Windsor on Friday, to which place he will not fail to transmit whatever it may be material for your Majesty to be made acquainted with, previous to your return to town."

The reply with which the King was pleased to honour the above communication was forwarded together with another letter which his Majesty had previously written, and which therefore stands first in succession. It is dated —

"Queen's House, Feb. 5th, 1801.
"(At night.)

"I shall go to Windsor early in the morning. I shall leave this to be sent to Mr. Speaker, wishing to apprise him that in consequence of his suggestion I have spoken to the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Portland, and Earl Spencer; the Lord Privy Seal† being confined, I could not see him. The former seemed much affected, and considerably afraid; the second very honourable and explicit as to his readiness to support and to hold office; the third, as was supposed, very moderate in his language, but determined to retire, if Mr. Pitt, on the ground of the difference, should give up his employment. I have been desirous of stating the complexion

* This note appears not to have been preserved.
† The Earl of Westmoreland.

of each, as thinking that more intelligible than attempting to state their language. To the two former I showed Mr. Pitt's letters, and my answers, which I thought was the fullest communication I could give, except adding my having called on Mr. Speaker to stand forth at the head of the treasury. Earl Spencer's language prevented my informing him of that intention.

"GEORGE R.

"P.S.—I transmit the notes from the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Portland, as they give some insight into their sentiments; those of the latter are really highly becoming that fair part he has acted since in office.*

"G. R."

The King's reply to the Speaker's note, of the 5th of February, will now be given.

"Queen's House, Feb. 6th, 1801.

"As I was going to mount my horse I have received Mr. Speaker's note: he will therefore account for the hurry in which it is answered. I, the last evening, copied the draft to Mr. Pitt, omitting the part Mr. Speaker so justly thought better left out. It was a clear omission of mine, the not mentioning the Lord Chancellor among those to whom I ought to make some communication; and I will, if possible, as desired, do it this day, but with the injunction of secrecy, and shall certainly not extend it beyond the four now intended. "GEORGE R."

* The author cannot let this opportunity pass without observing how well this compliment was deserved by the nobleman in question. The period produced politicians probably of greater ability, but of higher integrity none. His Grace was fully impressed with the danger which menaced his country from the French revolution; for which reason, and without reference to private feelings, he devoted his services to her interests, in any capacity in which his sovereign might deem them valuable. With this object, he separated from his party: with this, at a subsequent period, he accepted the premiership.

To these communications the Speaker returned the following reply:—

"Palace Yard, Feb. 7th, 1801.

"The Speaker of the House of Commons was much gratified by the information your Majesty was pleased to communicate to him respecting the Duke of Portland, whose letter he now returns, together with that from the Lord Chancellor. He had an opportunity of seeing each of them in the course of yesterday, and the result is, upon the whole, satisfactory; indeed he cannot forbear adding, that he finds himself relieved and encouraged by various conversations and circumstances that have taken place within the last two days. The Speaker is, however, unwilling to trespass on the time and attention of your Majesty with particulars till he can render his communication more distinct and decisive than at present. He thinks it nevertheless incumbent upon him to add, that he abstained from writing to Lord Chatham, as he proposed, upon hearing that it was Mr. Pitt's wish to convey to his Lordship the first information of what had passed, which he had not an opportunity of doing till Thursday evening (5th). The answer from Lord Chatham arrived at twelve o'clock last night, and fully met the Speaker's expectations. Your Majesty may be assured that he will not fail to write to his Lordship in the course of this day."

The die was now finally cast; and the Speaker proceeded with his arrangements, during his Majesty's absence at Windsor, as the person intrusted by the Crown with the duty of forming a new administration. By this time, therefore, rumours of some approaching change must necessarily have transpired; and this circumstance renders the present, perhaps, the most suitable opportunity for presenting the reader with the picture of the Speaker's feelings, and of those of his family, contained in the following letter, written by his desire, on or about the 5th of February, by Mrs. Bragge to their eldest sister, Mrs. Goodenough:—

"My dearest Sister,

"I write at the request of my brother, who is dining with us, to communicate to you a circumstance deeply interesting to him, and which he cannot bear the thoughts of your first hearing from public rumour. To keep you no longer in suspense, Mr. Pitt is led by unavoidable circumstances to resign; and in this public misfortune his and every other voice, but chiefly that of the highest authority, call upon my brother to take his station. You may guess how he feels both the arduousness of the undertaking and the sacrifice of private comfort: but what *is for the best* in the present crisis can be the only consideration, *and of that* all seem perfectly agreed. His own struggle is over, and he seems calm and collected, and to look forward with confidence, though not without anxiety. The great thing is to keep up his spirits, to carry him through what he feels it his duty to undertake. Hiley and Mr. Bragge are both convinced there could be no alternative, and are cheerful upon it. I did not know a word of it until three or four hours ago, and, indeed, my brother begs it may still be considered as a secret. Mrs. Addington is, he says, a good deal agitated; but on the whole takes it better perhaps than could have been expected. Ever, dearest Sister, most affectionately yours,

"C. Bragge."

From this interesting representation of an unambitious family, cheerfully resigning private feelings and domestic happiness to a high sense of public duty, we return to the communications between the King and his new Minister, which were resumed by the former in the following letter from Windsor:—

"Windsor, Feb. 7th, 1801.

"Just as I was going to dinner I received the box containing Mr. Speaker's letter, and the two notes I had communicated to him. I am pleased with finding that he was yesterday with the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Portland, and that the result of their language was satisfactory,

and that he is pleased with the language of those with whom he has as yet had occasion to converse.

"I was rather surprised, before I left town yesterday morning, to receive a letter from Lord Grenville, which shows that Mr. Pitt has already mentioned his intention to retire. I forward it to Mr. Speaker, as well as those I have received this morning from the Earl of Camden, and from Mr. Secretary Dundas. Lord Grenville's is so very handsome that I instantly answered it; but thought it right to remark, as my line was dictated by a sense of religion and political duty, those who proposed the unfortunate subject of disunion could only plead expediency as the plea of their conduct; that I was certain if they had openly, in the beginning, stated their opinions to me, I should have been able to avert it entirely: to Mr. Dundas I more fully stated this, as he had been apprised of my sentiments when corresponding with the Earl of Westmoreland, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as also on the occasion of the schism with Lord Fitzwilliam. *I also acquainted him that Earl Spencer had informed me, that the question on the Roman Catholics has been under consideration ever since the month of August, though never communicated to me till Sunday last* (Feb. 1st).* I will not detain Mr. Speaker any longer. I certainly shall be fully open to make such arrangements as he may think most conducive to his carrying on my service with effect, though I could wish he would by any means enable me to place the great seal in the hands of Lord Eldon, and put Sir Pepper Arden into the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

"GEORGE R."

* It does not appear when the conversation occurred between the King and Mr. Dundas, which is mentioned in the Life of Sir James Mackintosh, vol. i. p. 170.; but as the circumstance related to the same subject which is here alluded to by his Majesty, it will now be given: — Mr. Dundas, having drawn a distinction between the King's legislative and his executive capacities, and maintained that in this case his Majesty's oath was binding only in respect to the latter, the King replied, "None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas."

"P.S. Mr. Speaker may keep these letters till he shall think himself enabled to speak to me on the subject of arrangements. I am happy to hear he is to write without delay to the Earl of Chatham, who certainly is highly thought of by me. "G. R."

The approaching changes in the cabinet were now becoming generally known. There is the copy of a letter from Mr. Canning to Mr. Newbolt, dated February 7th, which proves that Mr. Pitt himself was now actively engaged in promoting the new arrangements. "Mr. Pitt," it is therein stated, "has resigned, on finding himself not allowed to carry into effect his own wishes and opinions, and the views of the Irish government, respecting the Catholic question. The King has accepted his resignation, and a new government is forming, in which Mr. Pitt earnestly presses all those of his own friends who are now in office to take part, and to which he intends personally to give the most decided and active support in parliament." Assisted, therefore, thus powerfully by his predecessor, and urged by the necessity of providing as quickly as possible, a permanent head to the government, and an immediate successor in his own office, the Speaker acted with such celerity, that, as he used afterwards to observe, all the principal arrangements were completed in two days; at the expiration of which period, he addressed the following communication to the King: —

"Palace Yard, Feb. 9th 1801.

"In returning the enclosed papers, the Speaker has the satisfaction of informing your Majesty that the progress towards such an arrangement as, he humbly trusts, will meet with your Majesty's approbation, has, during the last two days, nearly equalled his wishes; indeed it has done so with

one exception only, occasioned by Mr. Pelham's having declined taking any official situation, though he has given the strongest assurances of concurrence and support. The proposed law arrangements are those which the Speaker ventures to believe will be most acceptable to your Majesty. But he feels it to be due to the Lord Chancellor, whose conduct has been handsome and becoming in the highest degree, to leave it to his Lordship to make a particular communication to your Majesty of the steps which have been taken towards the accomplishment of this very important object.

"The difficulty of supplying, in an adequate manner, the vacancy which unfortunately will take place at the Admiralty cannot but have impressed itself forcibly on your Majesty's mind. After the best consideration which the Speaker has been enabled to give to this subject, he has formed the opinion that it is by Earl St. Vincent that the duties of the situation now filled so ably and honourably by Earl Spencer would, upon the retirement of the latter, be executed most beneficially to the country at the present crisis.† * * * He is fully aware that this proposition is liable to objections, which were not counterbalanced in his own mind except after much reflection, and communication with a few persons whose opinions were most calculated to be useful to him in forming his own. * * * The consideration that Earl St. Vincent is a professional man suggests observations which can only be rendered unavailing, according to the Speaker's conceptions, by a conviction that the war henceforth to be carried on will be of a nature to require all the promptitude, energy, and ability, which eminently distinguish the person in question. * * * * * Upon this and other subjects, the Speaker hopes to be allowed to explain himself more fully when he next pays his duty to your Majesty. On the main point, it appears to

† The matter omitted from this letter contains nothing that is prejudicial to any person whatever. Lord Sidmouth told the author, Feb. 5th, 1841, that Lord St. Vincent's appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty had been suggested by Mr. Pitt, and that Lord Hood had very nearly been selected.

be of the highest importance that there should be as little delay as possible. The Speaker further requests your Majesty's permission to notify to the House of Commons to-morrow his resignation of the office he now holds. This step, he is well convinced, will appear to your Majesty to be equally due to decorum and to convenience. Sir John Mitford is the person intended to be proposed as the Speaker's successor in the chair of the House of Commons, the duties of which no man appears to be better qualified to discharge to the satisfaction of the House and of the public. On this ground the Speaker presumes to hope that the nomination of Sir John Mitford will be honoured with your Majesty's approval. The Speaker has opened this note for the purpose of affording to your Majesty the satisfaction of knowing that he has just received a most gratifying letter from the Earl of Chatham."*

The reply of his Majesty, who had returned to town, to the above communication, will now be given: —

"Queen's House, Feb. 9th, 1801.

"It gives me infinite satisfaction to learn from the Speaker that he has made so much progress in preparing the necessary arrangements; and he will find me, as I before mentioned,

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* The following extract comprises the only important portion of the letter alluded to above. Lord Chatham was then President of the Council, which office he retained until June, when he exchanged it for that of Master General of the Ordnance. It was quite natural that he should feel anxious for intelligence respecting his brother's (Mr. Pitt's) resignation. — "From the long friendship subsisting between us, and, I believe I may add, a concurrence of opinion on all occasions, I shall feel happy in affording you, as a colleague, every degree of assistance and support in my power. The warmest feelings of attachment to the King, which I should be most ungrateful not to entertain, would, at a moment of difficulty like the present, scarcely leave me an option on any subject of his wishes. You will, at the same time, not think it unnatural that there should be some points, with regard to which I must feel an earnest and anxious desire to be informed."

open to whatever he may have to suggest on that head. I am sorry Mr. Pelham declines office, though his assurances of support are not doubted; but that is overbalanced by the hopes of the law arrangements proving satisfactory, though not as yet stated. Mr. Speaker is highly right, as he is prepared for it, to notify to the House of Commons his resignation of the chair, which I must think he has filled to the honour of that House, the advantage of the public, and to his own personal credit. I shall be happy if Sir John Mitford is able to say as much after so long a service. I am happy, indeed, that the Earl of Chatham has answered to the Speaker's satisfaction. I do not press for Mr. Speaker to come here, but shall be glad to know when that will be convenient to him.

"GEORGE R."

On the same day, the Speaker received a note from Mr. Pitt, manifesting the deep interest he was taking in the Speaker's arrangements, by offering "to come to him at any time that evening from nine till midnight; or else to keep himself at the Speaker's disposal at any hour in the following day."

On the evening of the 10th of February, in consequence of the intimation conveyed in the King's note of the 9th, Mr. Addington, who that day had, in grateful and becoming terms, resigned the Speakership of the House of Commons into the hands of the members, paid his respects to his Majesty at the Queen's house. At that interview, much important business was satisfactorily arranged. On subsequently reflecting, however, on the proceedings of the evening, his Majesty thought there was one subject which had not been sufficiently considered. His paternal solici tude therefore for his country's welfare would scarcely suffer him to rest, until he had despatched the following note to the head of his new administration.

"Queen's House, Feb. 11th, 1801.

"Mr. Addington must not think that the King will unnecessarily take up his time with letters; but, at the outset of the business, it would be highly wrong to have any thing omitted that occurs. The more the King reflects on the conversation of last night, and the proposed arrangements, the more he approves of them; but he blames himself for having omitted to mention the natural, nay necessary, return of the Marquess Cornwallis from Ireland. He well knows many have thought the office of Lord Lieutenant should altogether cease on such an event. The King's opinion is clearly, that perhaps hereafter that may be proper; but that at present it is necessary to fill up that office with a person that shall clearly understand that the Union has closed the reign of Irish jobs; that he is to be a kind of president of the council there; and that the civil patronage may be open to his recommendation, but must entirely be decided in England. Earl Chatham, if he can be persuaded, is the man who, from his honour, rectitude of mind, and firmness, is best calculated for that station, particularly from his love for the military profession to which he is again returned; and though of too inferior a rank in the army for a separate command, his employment as Lord Lieutenant would of necessity place him above the commander-in-chief of the troops in Ireland. He would thus embrace both the civil and military command. Should this not succeed, his Majesty is anxious to learn Mr. Addington's first ideas, and to treat them as such, and not as a proposed arrangement, as to who seems, on the failure of this idea, best qualified to be Lord Lieutenant; for the matter is one of the most pressing.

"GEORGE R."

Mr. Addington we have seen, informed his Majesty that the Attorney General, Sir John Mitford, was the person he intended should be proposed to be his own successor in the chair. Accordingly, on the 11th of February, that gentleman having previously resigned his offices of Attorney General and King's counsel,

was proposed by Lord Hawkesbury, and seconded by Mr. J. Hawkins Browne; and after a futile attempt on the part of Mr. Sheridan to nominate another gentleman*, who had not yet taken the oaths and his seat, and consequently was not eligible, was elected without opposition. Mr. Addington's communication to his Majesty of this event, as also of Earl Chatham's request to be permitted to continue in his present office, occasioned the following reply from that watchful and judicious guardian of the public welfare: —

"Queen's House, Feb. 12th, 1801.

"There could not be a stronger presage of our joint endeavours to save this dear country, than the choice of Sir John Mitford as Speaker of the House of Commons, just notified to me by Mr. Addington. * * * * I desire the commission may be instantly prepared for approving the choice the House of Commons have made, and that the Lord Chancellor will have it sent, as soon as ready, for my signature.

"Mr. Addington's account of the Earl of Chatham sets my heart quite at ease; for I not only see the utility of his remaining, but I truly bear the warmest affection for him.

"GEORGE R."

The communications between the King and his Minister now became more frequent; and the 13th of February brought the latter three letters from the sovereign, who was so devoted to his people, that he actually deprived himself of rest, that he might make arrangements for their welfare. Of these documents one alone will be presented to the reader, as the others related only to the completion of the law arrangements, which "Mr. Addington had informed him it was desirable to complete without delay."

* Mr. Charles Dundas.

"Queen's House, Feb. 13th, 1801.

"As it is my inclination not to have a thought that can tend to the assistance of the administration now forming, and delay communicating it to Mr. Addington, as I mean to have his affection as well as his zeal, it has occurred to me this morning, that Mr. Abbot would stand much more creditably as Secretary of State for Ireland, if he were to relinquish his employment in the Court of King's Bench. Should Mr. Addington see it in the same light, I should think a message from him to Lord Kenyon would easily gain that lord's consent to some creditable man being allowed to arrange with Mr. Abbot for that employment. If I am not right on this occasion, I desire the matter may rest here.*

"I think it right to acquaint Mr. Addington, for himself alone, that I have obtained information as to the cause of Mr. Pelham's reluctance at first to come into office.† It was Lord Camden who expressly advised him to decline; and my informer, on learning it, decided his change of conduct. Now when I couple that with Mr. Dundas's assurance that he did not know of Mr. Pitt's first letter till after I had received it, and that he protests he did not look on the last conversation on the enabling Catholics to sit in both houses of parliament as a final decision, but explains it as those of the ministry who remain (do), I think I am right (though it appears most extraordinary), that Lords C—— and C—— and Mr. C—— are the persons that led Mr. Pitt to the rash step he has taken; and that his own good heart now makes him, by exertion in favour of my service, take the line most to his

* Mr. Abbot has recorded in his diary of Feb. 9th an interview he had on that day with Mr. Addington, in which the latter expressed his wish that "he (Mr. Abbot) would go to Ireland with Lord Hardwicke as his Lordship's friend and adviser."

† It will be remembered that the Speaker informed his Majesty, on the 9th February, that Mr. Pelham declined taking any official situation. Mr. Pelham, however, who in the interim had been created a baron, entered the cabinet on the 30th of July, as Secretary of State for the Home Department. His father also was raised to an earldom on the 15th June, 1801, and his uncle elevated to a bishopric in the February following.

own inclination as well as honour. I should add, that Mr. Dundas assured (me) that, during the latter conflict, he has neither seen nor heard of Mr. C——.

"GEORGE R."

The fourteenth of February produced two letters from the indefatigable monarch to his minister, the former of which, although containing no matter of real moment, will be given in full; first, because it contains a happy specimen of those delicate and amiable attentions by which this shepherd of his people was accustomed to win his way to the hearts of men; and, secondly, because the date itself marks the importance which he wisely attached to the value and right employment of time.

"Queen's House, Feb. 14th, 1801.
Three minutes past ten A. M.!!!

"This is to acquaint Mr. Addington that the severity of the weather has engaged us all to remain in town: therefore, if there is any thing required of me, he will know where to send. This is the anniversary of the Earl of St. Vincent's victory. I should think it would flatter him much if Mr. Addington would desire him to call on me. Any hour this forenoon will be perfectly convenient, as I shall not stir from home.

"At seven this morning I received and signed the appointment of Mr. Law as Attorney General. He will consequently be sworn as such before the Lord Chancellor; after which Mr. Solicitor General may resign, and Mr. Percival be appointed to succeed him.

"GEORGE R."

At 7 P. M. on the same day, his Majesty wrote again to acquaint Mr. Addington with the general language of Earl St. Vincent, which was explicit and satisfactory; and he added, that a rumour had reached

his Majesty to the effect, "that great address was using to persuade Mr. Pitt to support the emancipation of the Catholics, but that he did not credit it."

One further remark remains to be made respecting the two letters of the 14th of February. It appears by the subjoined extract from the "Annual Register*," that the King was seriously indisposed on the above day; yet such was his devotion to the public service, that, in his anxiety to perfect the pending arrangements, he did not bestow a single thought on his own state of health. It was not until Monday the 16th (for except under the pressure of necessity, that pious monarch transacted no business on the Sabbath) that he "excused himself to Mr. Addington for writing so ill, as he was in bed from a severe cold."† This apology, however, was unnecessary; since both this and the two preceding letters, as well as those of the 10th and 15th of March, when the King resumed his correspondence with Mr. Addington, are written in his Majesty's usual clear and legible hand, and with the same attention to accuracy which is found in letters written by him under more favourable circumstances.

The following is the last communication which Mr. Addington received from his Majesty until the 10th of March: —

* "February 14th. The King was confined to the house by a severe cold; and on the 16th was affected by a fever, from which his Majesty did not recover till March 12th, when the physicians' bulletins ceased to be issued."

† His Majesty's cold was occasioned by his remaining so long in church on Friday, Feb. 13th, which had been appointed for a general fast, and was a particularly cold and snowy day.

"Queen's House, Feb. 16th, 1801.

"The real care I am taking — for I have not been down stairs this day — with James's Powder, which Dr. Gisborne advised, certainly is removing my cold. If not inconvenient to Mr. Addington, I shall be very desirous of seeing him at twelve to-morrow; and though he may have much to communicate, I shall not be without information for him, which I think will give him confidence and pleasure.

"GEORGE R."

The interview appointed in the preceding note took place on the 17th, when his Majesty conversed for an hour and a half on the business of the arrangements, in his usual clear and intelligent manner.

Mr. Addington saw his Majesty every subsequent day in that week, and on Thursday found him so much indisposed that he dreaded the effect which the reception of his new ministers in council on Friday might produce on his health. That business, however, went off extremely well, and on Saturday Mr. Addington found his Majesty better, notwithstanding the exertion of the preceding day: but on Sunday, February 22d, the King was very unwell, and the physicians were quite at a loss. It is well known, indeed, that by this time his Majesty's illness had assumed a serious character, and that for above a fortnight he was not permitted to give his attention to public business; except that on Tuesday, February 24th, after Mr. Addington had declined to do so, Lord Loughborough went to his Majesty, and obtained his signature to a commission for giving the Royal assent to the Brown Bread Bill.*

* This bill was rendered necessary by the injudicious interference of parliament in the preceding session, by passing an act prohibit-

During the interval which ensued, the ministerial arrangements were necessarily suspended, and it would have been difficult perhaps accurately to answer the question, Who is now Prime Minister? Mr. Pitt and his friends continued to perform the necesary routine duties of their offices, and Mr. Addington held constant communication with the palace, where, as Mr. Adolphus has correctly stated in a note to the seventh volume of his History, by suggesting the simple remedy of a pillow filled with hops, to promote sleep, he contributed, as was supposed, materially, to the restoration of his Majesty's health.

ing bakers from making bread from the finest description of flour. As might have been expected, the plan gave great offence to the public, whilst it totally failed in its intended effect of lowering the price of bread. The act was, therefore, now repealed with all practicable despatch.

CHAPTER XI.

1801.

Extracts from the Diary of Mr. Abbot. Official Arrangements. Letters from the Duke of Portland, Lord Loughborough, Lord St. Vincent, Mr. Law, Sir William Grant, Mr. Long, and Mr. Canning. Thanks of the House of Commons to Mr. Addington. Address from Devizes. Letter to General Simcoe. Relative Positions of Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt. Causes of Mr. Pitt's Resignation considered. The Prince of Wales's Communications with Mr. Addington. Mis-statements corrected. Narrative resumed. Mr. Pitt's Financial Statement. Mr. Addington re-elected M. P. for Devizes. Extracts from Mr. Abbot's Diary. The King's Recovery — Note from his Majesty to Mr. Addington. Mr. Addington receives the Seals of Office. List of Cabinet and other official Appointments. Observations thereon, and Letter from the King.

THE suspension of the few remaining arrangements, which was occasioned by the King's lamented indisposition, affords a convenient opportunity of noticing a few facts and communicating certain documents, of which the superior importance of the correspondence with his Majesty has hitherto compelled the omission. A few observations also appear desirable on the novel position of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, which, it will be found, was eventually much and painfully affected by this crisis in their lives.

The document which will first be presented is a portion of the diary kept by Mr. Charles Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester; the free use of which has been

most obligingly accorded by the present and second lord. This diary has been more than once referred to in the preceding narrative of events; and it is specially valuable in this important respect, that it states more fully than any other document in the author's possession, and that on the authority of Mr. Addington himself, the nature of the concessions which Mr. Pitt's cabinet was disposed to make to the Roman Catholics.

Extracts from the Diary of the late Lord Colchester.

"*Feb. 5th,* 1801. Saw the Speaker, and learnt the new arrangement. He told me what he had not then communicated to any body but the parties concerned, and his own brother, and Mr. Bragge, namely, that on Thursday last (Jan. 29th) the King had come to an explanation with his ministers, who had pledged themselves, without his participation, *for granting to the Irish Catholics a free admission to all offices, and to seats in parliament, and for repealing the Test Act, and some project upon tithes;* that they had persisted, and the King had peremptorily refused to agree; that on Friday evening he had sent for the Speaker, and desired him to undertake the conduct of affairs; that he (the Speaker) had endeavoured to reconcile matters; and that until the beginning of this week there had been hopes; but all was now decided. The King had declared he would never part with Mr. Pitt, if he would never press these points; but Mr. Pitt as positively insisted on them: that Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham were to go out; that the Speaker had communicated to them the whole, and all the letters that had passed, and that, with their concurrence and promise of support, he had consented to form an administration of his own, as the best thing to be done, rather than drive matters to extremities and worse consequences; that he should want me as a colleague. I told him that on that point he knew my way of thinking, and that I knew his principles, and had the fullest reliance on them; and that he might be assured of my assisting him in any way in which he could make me useful. He was

determined, he added, that his administration should be an independent one. Lord Eldon should have the Great Seal; and he should endeavour to persuade the Chancellor to take the presidentship of the Council; and, if possible, to make Grant abandon his profession, and devote himself to politics, by making him Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

"He told me afterwards in the House of Commons he had seen the Chancellor, who had only learnt the state of things the day before, and was all consternation, seeing the government must be dissolved, without his knowing by what means it was to be supplied; and he begged the Speaker to dispose of him in any way that suited his other arrangements.

"*Feb. 8th.* After breakfast I went to the Speaker: he had his dinner of twenty-six people yesterday, all of whom knew the state of things, and behaved in a most satisfactory way. Mr. Pitt was to dine with him *tête-à-tête* to-day; in the evening he was to have his levee: he had shown my last letter to Mr. Pitt as a testimony of my sentiments towards him.

"*Feb. 9th.* In the course of this day the outline of the arrangements became generally talked of. Went to the Speaker at half-past ten: he said to me that, sorry as he should be to part with me, he wished Lord Hardwicke to go to Ireland, and me to go with him as his friend and adviser. That the scene was great, and the business would be to render the nominal union a real union.*

"At the House, after prayers, the Speaker told all his friends that this was his last day of being Speaker. There was the fullest attendance I ever saw in the House before four o'clock—about 350 members; every body talking and inquiring about the change, and the Speaker receiving congratulations. Sir John Anderson said he had been up to the Speaker, and, in shaking him by the hand, said, "Sir, I cannot do as others are doing, give you joy, for I pity you sincerely:" to which the Speaker replied, "It was too late

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* Mr. Abbot was at that time Clerk of the Rules in the Court of King's Bench.

now to look back; he must now go forward, and surmount the difficulties before him.

"Grey gave notice of a motion, on this day se'nnight, on the state of the nation. I never saw greater trepidation in the House, or more anxiety and concern on the ministerial, or more eagerness on the opposition side.

"*Feb. 13th.* Received a note from Mr. Hiley Addington, appointing me at nine in Palace Yard. At nine I went. Mr. Addington told me he had shown my letters to the King; that his Majesty highly approved of my being Secretary of State for Ireland, and to hold Lord Castlereagh's situation; and that I should immediately be made a privy councillor."

In the letters alluded to above, Mr. Abbot pointed out the impropriety of his holding either the secretaryship in Ireland or that of the Treasury, with his present office in the Court of King's Bench, the duties of which had never been exercised by deputy. To prevent, therefore, Mr. Abbot's sustaining injury from the exchange of a permanent for an unstable situation, his Majesty, in his letter of the 13th of February, already presented, most considerately suggested the idea of an exchange; but as this plan was found equally impracticable, Mr. Abbot unhesitatingly incurred the same risk which Mr. Addington himself had previously done, by taking the step announced in the following note: —

"Feb. 16th, 1801.

"In obedience to his Majesty's wishes, I have arranged every thing for the entire and absolute resignation of my office in the Court of King's Bench, previously to my receiving the seals of Secretary of State for Ireland. To-morrow I expect to be divested of my law office; and as I shall, by that act, relinquish the whole of my independence for life — so far as fortune can constitute that — I cannot

give a fuller proof of my entire reliance on your friendship, and upon his Majesty's gracious disposition. * * * *

"Believe me, &c. &c. CHS. ABBOT."

Attention is next invited to the communications which the new Minister received from those parties to whom, in the course of his arrangements, he looked for co-operation. Of these, the Duke of Portland is justly entitled to precedence, as the principal member of the late cabinet who stood by the King at this conjuncture. The reader has already been informed, by the letters of the King and Mr. Addington, of his Majesty's having himself proposed to the Duke his continuance in office as Secretary of State for the Home Department, and of the highly satisfactory manner in which his Grace accepted the proposal. The following letter further shows the friendly and zealous assistance which the Duke afforded to Mr. Addington in completing the arrangements for the new ministry; whilst, by the manner in which it mentions Lord Winchilsea with reference to Ireland, it clearly proves that his Grace had no idea of that government for himself.

His Grace the Duke of Portland to the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

"Dear Sir, Wednesday morning, Feb. 11th, 1801.

"I heard yesterday, in the House of Lords, that Lord Gower would not continue in the Post Office; which suggested to me the idea, and I had almost said a wish, that our friend Lord Charles Spencer might be placed there instead of at the Pay Office; and, if other arrangements would admit of it, it would be so agreeable to *all his family*, as well as to himself, that I could hope it might be effected. * * * I have an idea that you could send both Lord Winchilsea

and Sir Charles Stuart to Ireland without a probability of any clashing or interference between them, and in such a manner as to facilitate the way by which the two kingdoms may slide insensibly into the union they have endeavoured to form. * * * I have heard this morning that Lord Glenbervie would be happy in succeeding Mr. Canning, should the latter make a vacancy at the Pay Office. I make no excuse for these suggestions: it is my duty to offer them, or any thing that can be useful.

"Ever, dear Sir, sincerely yours, PORTLAND." *

The reasons are nowhere stated why Lord Loughborough did not receive the office of President of the Council, which Mr. Addington informed the King it was his intention to offer him. It appears, however, from his Majesty's letter of the 5th, and from the Speaker's reply, that his Lordship behaved remarkably well on this occasion; and we learn, from published records, that he, in conjunction with Lord Auckland, first made his Majesty acquainted with the intentions of the cabinet respecting the Roman Catholics, through the Archbishop of Canterbury. In requital, it may be presumed, for these services, as well as for the loss of office, his Lordship was shortly afterwards gratified with the earldom of Rosslyn.

* If the reader, after perusing the above letter,—the suggestions in which, relating to Lord Charles Spencer and Lord Glenbervie, were both complied with,— will turn to the communication which the King on the 5th of February addressed to the Speaker, and to the reply of the latter, he will see quite sufficient proof to satisfy him that the statement respecting the Duke's offer to go to Ireland, and the petulance attributed to his Grace on the Minister's naming Mr. Abbot to be secretary, as related in Lord Malmesbury's Diary, (vol. iv. p. 19.) is altogether fabulous. In truth, it is difficult to imagine a more cordial understanding than that which subsisted between those two statesmen on all occasions.

Mr. Addington's communications with the remaining parties who took office under him were, as he informed the King, very satisfactory.

Lord St. Vincent readily accepted the chief seat at the Board of Admiralty; assuring Mr. Addington, that "all the knowledge and sense he might possess on naval subjects should be devoted to the service of the government; and that, whilst he sincerely lamented that any reverse in the arduous contest should make it necessary for Mr. Pitt to retire from his situation, he deemed it a most fortunate event for the country that his Majesty's choice should have fallen upon Mr. Addington."

The circumstances attendant on Mr. Law's unhesitating acceptance of the office of Attorney General, which, in after life, Lord Sidmouth loved to relate, are accurately reported by Mr. Adolphus in the seventh volume of his History of England, page 573. From that moment, a correspondence and intimacy sprang up between these parties, to which the future portion of this biography will be much indebted, and which terminated only upon the death of Lord Ellenborough, in 1818. Sir William Grant was another subject of ministerial preference on this occasion; with respect to whom, Mr. Addington speedily found official intercourse ripen into private friendship.* He did not,

* Sir William Grant in early life exercised the profession of a barrister at Quebec, and was a resident of that city, and bearing arms as a volunteer in its defence, when it was rashly assaulted by General Montgomery in December, 1775. On that occasion, after the enemy had retreated, the English sallied forth in pursuit. Presently they came to the dead body of an unknown officer, whose arm was extended towards Quebec, as if he had fallen whilst in the

indeed, as Mr. Addington intended, strictly adopt a political line; but, by accepting the mastership of the Rolls' Court, he retained the privilege of sitting in parliament, and giving his powerful support as a debater to the measures of government.

A letter from Lord Lewisham, who, after consulting with his friends, accepted the office of President of the Board of Control, which, from a becoming diffidence of his own ability, he had previously declined, completes the list of written acceptances. The remaining arrangements with parties already in office were effected by Mr. Pitt, who undertook to influence as many as possible to retain their situations. Unfortunately several of these followed the example of the five leaders of the retiring administration; and, by thus confining within still closer limits Mr. Addington's power of selection—already most inconveniently circumscribed by the two great parties of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox—contributed, though doubtless unintentionally, to expose his Majesty to the risk of being involved in the dilemma of either violating his conscience or selecting his Minister from the ranks of opposition. Numerous letters of refusal have been preserved; and from such of them as are thought to illustrate the aspect of the period, or the feeling of the writers, extracts will now be presented.

The first in order of succession was written by one for whom, to the end of his life, Lord Sidmouth entertained the warmest regard, and who, in the subsequent

act of urging on the troops. "That," said Grant, who came up at the moment, "is Montgomery: I knew him when we studied together at St. Andrew's College."

estrangement between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, enacted a most friendly and judicious part towards them both—Mr. Charles Long, afterwards Lord Farnborough.

As this letter contains a satisfactory justification of Mr. Long's retirement, and also expresses a decided opinion on his part respecting the obligation incumbent on Mr. Pitt and his friends "to support to the utmost Mr. Addington's administration," it is considered due to all parties that it should be inserted entire.

"Dear Sir, Grosvenor Place, Feb. 8th, 1801.

"Mr. Pitt, in mentioning to me a circumstance which I confess has given me great uneasiness, communicated at the same time, in a manner very flattering to me, your wishes, as well as his own, that I would remain in my present situation at the Treasury. I assure you that nothing but the habits of friendship for him, contracted in very early life, could have induced me to undertake the office; and I have often said, that nothing could persuade me to remain in it a moment after he quitted the Treasury. I must add, also, that, after a ten years' service in a situation which has deprived me of all private and domestic comforts, it is not unnatural to feel the greatest anxiety to leave it. After this explanation, I am sure you will ascribe only to the real motive my determination upon the present occasion; but, having said this, let me add, that I have no objection to remain for a short time to expedite the business of the Treasury, if you shall think my services in any degree acceptable.

"The only circumstance from which I derived comfort, in the communication from Mr. Pitt, was, that you were to be his successor. The King could not have made a better choice; none which will so much unite public opinion in its favour; and none which will give us so good a chance of preserving all that is dear and valuable. This is my firm and decided opinion; and it is not less so of those of Mr. Pitt's friends with whom I have conversed upon the subject:

they will, I trust, feel themselves bound to support to the utmost your administration. That you may have health to discharge its duties, and that it may in every respect succeed and prosper, is the ardent wish of, dear Sir,

"Yours most sincerely, CHARLES LONG."

Another highly gifted member of the late government, who withheld his services on this occasion, was Mr. Canning. Most unfortunately a coolness already existed between that gentleman and Mr. Addington, of which, at the very commencement of these arrangements, some traces appeared in a note from the former, complaining to the latter of his having, in conversation with some one not named, "contrasted his (Mr. Canning's) conduct with that of some other person *," and also of his "want of attention in not having written or spoken to Mr. Canning respecting his continuance in office."† These trivial grounds of difference, however, were explained by Mr. Addington to Mr. Canning's satisfaction, in a note, dated February 14th, wherein he denied "all recollection of having used the words ascribed to him in Mr. Canning's letter," and assured that gentleman that "it was Mr. Pitt himself, who, from motives of real kindness to both, discouraged his (Mr. Addington's) declared intention of writing to Mr. Canning respecting his office." These circumstances may scarcely appear to deserve notice: far, indeed, was it from Mr. Addington's nature, and far be it from that of the author, to dwell unnecessarily upon them; but since the unpleasant feeling subsisting between the parties, instead of terminating at

* Mr. Addington's note, Feb. 12th. Mr. Canning's first note is unfortunately wanting.

† Mr. Canning's note, Feb. 13th.

this point, subsequently expanded into a difference, which must not only have occasioned uneasiness to themselves, but produced also other consequences, which must be noticed in the sequel as affecting generally the public interests, the biographer who was to evade such a topic on account of its delicacy, or to pass it by on the plea of its non-importance, would be obviously unworthy of his trust. The feeling with which Mr. Addington at that time regarded Mr. Canning shall be described in his own words, extracted from his note of the 12th of February, already alluded to: —"Mr. Addington can truly aver that his sentiments have never been such as to preclude an intercourse of cordiality and regard whenever his own disposition towards it should be met by Mr. Canning himself."

The satisfactory terms in which Mr. Canning on the following day acknowledged the above expression of sentiment, shows that he received it in a reciprocal spirit*: the explanation, however, had not the effect of inducing him to remain in office, although Mr. Pitt told him "he should be more pleased and more obliged to such of his friends as would keep their places†;" and accordingly, on the 15th of March, he addressed the following official letter of resignation to Mr. Addington, which he enclosed in a private letter dated on the succeeding day.

* [Extract.] "Pay Office, Friday, February 13th, 1801.

"Mr. Canning presents his compliments to Mr. Addington, and assures him that the reply which he has received to his letter of yesterday leaves him no doubt or anxiety upon the subject of the expressions which he did understand to have been applied by Mr. Addington to his conduct; but which, in regard to any late occurrences, Mr. Addington has so explicitly disclaimed."

† Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. iv. p. 47.

Mr. Canning to Mr. Addington.

"Sir, Pay Office, March 15th, 1801.

"Upon the completion of Mr. Pitt's resignation, I feel it right and respectful to signify to you, in a more formal manner, than I have hitherto done it, my resignation of the office of joint Paymaster-General. I know not whether I may not be ascribing to this office more importance than belongs to it, when I suppose that the resignation of it can be a matter to be mentioned to the King. Yet I hope you will allow me to request that, if it should in any way come under his Majesty's notice, you will have the goodness as well as the justice to lay me at his Majesty's feet, with the assurance that I have been actuated by no other motive than a conscientious (even if it be a mistaken) notion of what my personal obligations to Mr. Pitt prescribed to me as the only line that I could honourably take on his retirement; and that I carry with me out of office the same dutiful attachment and veneration for his Majesty's person, the same grateful sense of all his goodness, and the same constant devotion to his service, as if I had still continued to hold a situation under the Crown.

"I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"GEO. CANNING."

The same to the same.

[Private.]

"Dear Sir, Pay Office, Monday, March 16th, 1801.

"I have hesitated for some time between the apprehension of appearing to attach too much importance to a matter so little important in itself as my resignation of office; and the fear, on the other hand, of being wanting in the expression either of dutifulness to the King, or of respect to you personally, if I should omit to signify my resignation to you in form. I have, upon the whole, thought it better to expose myself to the imputation of officiousness, than to the suspicion of purposed neglect; and to this impression you owe the

trouble of the enclosed letter. If I should, after all, have decided wrong, and my letter should be either superfluous or informal, the motives from which it is written will, I hope, prevent your considering it as improper. At all events, whether its contents can ever properly go beyond yourself or no, I beg that you will consider it as containing the true statement of the grounds on which I follow Mr. Pitt out of office; and as to the disposition which it implies on my part to give my support, such as it is, to the government which his Majesty has chosen to succeed that of Mr. Pitt, I trust that the sincerity with which I have spoken my sentiments to you on former occasions will be a guarantee to you that I do not now offer such an assurance without a sincere intention to act up to it.

"I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"GEO. CANNING."

Now, although the above letter expresses a vague intention of supporting the government which the King had chosen, it will be found, on closer examination, merely to refer on that head "to the disposition implied" in the official letter; that letter, however, contains only general expressions of gratitude and devotion to his Majesty, and not a single word respecting support to the new Minister. It is not therefore surprising that Mr. Addington should not have felt perfectly satisfied with it, and that he should have betrayed symptoms of that feeling in his reply. No copy of such reply has been preserved*, but its purport may be gathered from the following handsome explanation of Mr. Canning's intentions:—

* It appears possible from a passage in Mr. Canning's next letter, that Mr. Addington made only a verbal acknowledgment of the receipt of this communication through Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Canning to Mr. Addington.

"Dear Sir, Pay Office, March 18th, 1801.

"I know not whether I may not be giving you more trouble than satisfaction by the continuance of our correspondence, even if I should now succeed in conveying to you distinctly those sentiments which my last letter appears unfortunately to have left liable to misapprehension. I therefore put this letter into the hands of Mr. Pitt, from whom you will receive it only if it shall be, in his judgment, calculated to promote between us that good understanding which, for his sake, it must be the wish of us both (which I can conscientiously aver to be *my* wish) to establish.

"I am sorry that I should so have expressed myself as to lead you to imagine that, in declaring my resolution to support the new government, I still intended to maintain a distinction between the government itself and the person to whom the conduct of it is intrusted. I certainly had no such intention. Whatever had been the impressions under which I might originally have drawn such a distinction, they were entirely removed by a conversation which I had with Mr. Pitt on Saturday last.* The substance of that conver-

* The following details of this conversation are extracted from Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. iv. p. 46. Another account of it might have been selected; but as his Lordship, by his own showing, (see vol. iv. of Diary, *passim*,) was intimately engaged in all the proceedings shortly afterwards undertaken for the purpose of displacing Mr. Addington from the premiership, it appears most fair towards Mr. Canning to adopt the statement of his own friend and associate.

"*Saturday, 14th March.* Pitt resigned, and in the evening Canning 'put two very material questions to him.' * * * The first was, whether Pitt and Addington had, from the beginning to this day, *acted in concert*, and whether Addington had in no instance withheld any thing from him, or betrayed a strong wish to preserve office rather than restore it to Pitt? To this question Pitt, without hesitation, and in the most unqualified manner, replied, that it was impossible to have behaved with more confidence, more openness, more sincerity, than Addington had done, from the first moment to this; and that the manner in which he had

sation I thought it probable you might have heard from him; and though I felt it therefore as unnecessary as it would have been indelicate to refer to the particulars of it, I was anxious to let you know the result of it upon my mind; and I conceived I could not better do this, than by renewing and confirming to you, without qualification, the offers of support which I had before grounded exclusively on a sense of public duty. How far such a declaration might be acceptable, it was not my part to determine; but I undoubtedly did intend to make it appear to you that with those erroneous impressions which had induced me so to qualify my former assurances of support the feelings to which they had given birth were also at an end; and that the line which a sense of public duty would have impelled me to take under any circumstances with respect to the new government I shall now take

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conducted himself, added to his long friendship for him, had raised him higher than ever in his good opinion. Canning's second question was, whether Pitt was more *satisfied* with *him* for resigning office than with *others* who retained their places? Pitt answered, that he certainly could not but be pleased with Canning's having resigned office, taking him in the light of an individual and private friend; but as a public man, he very truly and sincerely said, he was more pleased and more obliged to such of his friends who had kept their places. After saying this, Canning told me that he recanted all he suspected, all he really might have said, and all that was attributed to him as having said, with respect to Mr. Addington. In sending him in his resignation to-day," it was not sent until the 16th, "that he had written to him in terms of the highest respect, with assurances of such support as he could give him."

The following is Mr. Addington's version of what passed between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning respecting himself, on this or some other occasion, about the same period: — "Mr. Canning went one morning into Mr. Pitt's bed-room (he being indisposed), and asked him, somewhat abruptly, whether Mr. Addington had not endeavoured to prejudice him (Mr. Pitt) against himself? 'Never,' said Mr. Pitt: 'on the contrary, he has always spoken of you with kindness.' 'Then,' rejoined Mr. Canning, 'I have done him great injustice.' " — *From Miss Addington's Notes of her Father's Conversations.*

with more satisfaction from the additional motives of personal esteem and good will towards you.

"With these sentiments I have the honour to remain, dear Sir, your sincere and obedient humble servant,

"GEO. CANNING."

The other retiring members of the late government whose letters have been preserved were Lord Temple and Lord Gower, who both assigned Mr. Pitt's retirement as the cause of their own. The former resigned a commissionership at the India Board, and the latter, together with the office of Postmaster-General, relinquished the lieutenancy of the county of Stafford.

Three circumstances, which at this period afforded gratifying evidence of the general estimation in which Mr. Addington was held, will now be recorded. Of these the first in importance, as in date, was his receiving the unanimous thanks of the Commons of England for his meritorious conduct during twelve eventful years in the chair of their House, conduct which, as Sir William Pulteney observed, "had procured him many distinguished friends, and, he was persuaded, not one enemy."

The resolution, which was moved and seconded on the 16th of February, by Colonel Fullarton and the Honourable Robert Greville; supported by Lord Belgrave, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. M. A. Taylor, and carried without a dissenting voice, was conveyed in the following complimentary terms:—

"Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of this House be expressed in the strongest terms to the Right Honourable Henry Addington, for the exemplary and distinguished manner in which he discharged the duties of Speaker during the whole of the period in which he filled the chair of the House

of Commons. That he be assured that the proofs which he has uniformly given of attachment to the constitution, the steadiness with which he has maintained the dignity and privileges of this House, and the ability, integrity, and unremitting attention to parliamentary business, which have marked the whole of his conduct, justly entitle him to our approbation, respect, and gratitude."

This resolution was communicated by the new Speaker on the following day to Mr. Addington, who attended in his place in the House for that purpose.

The second mark of respect which Mr. Addington at this time received was from the mayor and corporation of the borough of Devizes, which he had so long represented. That loyal and patriotic body presented to him an address signed by sixteen of their number, in which, after condoling with him on the resignation of Mr. Pitt, and congratulating him on the choice which his Majesty was believed to have made of a successor, they solicited permission, should approaching events occasion a vacancy in the representation of the borough, "to re-elect him to that seat in which he had rendered so much service to his country, and conferred so much honour on the borough."

It is almost unnecessary to add that Mr. Addington's re-election occasioned him neither anxiety, trouble, nor expense.

Another indication of respect, less conspicuous indeed, but not less gratifying probably than the two preceding, emanated from the official servants of the House of Commons, who, to the number of fifteen, signed an address to John Ley, Esq., the chief clerk, requesting him to express to Mr. Addington their

"deep regret at his resignation of the chair, and their grateful acknowledgments for all the instances of favour and indulgence which, during so many years, they had uniformly experienced from him." *

Numerous were the congratulations and offers of support which Mr. Addington received from his private friends. From these a few very brief extracts will be given to show the spirit which influenced the writers. Mr. C. S. Lefevre "sincerely rejoiced that the event to which he had so long and with such full hope looked forward had taken place, and he congratulated his country that its dearest interests were placed in such virtuous and honourable hands. May God Almighty," he adds, "bless, protect, support you. As for human aid, you will have it in abundance. My best energies, such as they are, shall be devoted to the support of those measures which your zeal, integrity, and patriotism, will dictate for the salvation of the empire."

The next extract will be made from the letter of Mr. Addington's old and faithful friend, John Lord Wodehouse, the representative of John Wodehouse, standard-bearer to Henry V., who, by his sturdy blows, earned the still surviving motto, "Frappe fort," at the decisive battle of Agincourt. "I cannot help lamenting," Lord Wodehouse observes, "that the state of public affairs, and his Majesty's commands,

* Amongst the signatures to this address is that of Sir Edward Stracey, Bart., who is now enjoying a cheerful and tranquil retirement at his seat, Rackheath Hall, near Norwich, beloved by his friends, respected by his dependents, and surrounded by a happy and contented peasantry, for whom his care and liberality provide education in childhood, employment in health, and assistance in sickness and old age.

should have drawn you from a situation for which no man alive was better calculated, to place you in another that cannot have any thing to recommend it, but that it is the King's anxious wish that you should accept it, and that he would hear of no other person whatever. * * * If there is any thing in the world in which it is possible for me to be serviceable to you, I trust you will lay your commands upon me most freely."

Mr. Le Mesurier expressed his satisfaction that what was a little wanting in Mr. Pitt — if in any part he was wanting — namely, a zealous regard for the true religion, and an humble reference of all events to the will of God, would be ever found strong and unshaken in Mr. Addington. The country could have no better foundation for hope."

Lord Wellesley wrote from India on the 1st of October, in terms which prove how justly he appreciated Mr. Pitt's services, and the difficulties of the new position in which his friend and correspondent was placed.

"You will naturally expect," he says, "some communication from me in consequence of the late changes of administration at home. You will not anticipate any congratulations from me on the events which have placed you in your present situation; nor can you suppose me to be sufficiently informed at this distance of all the causes, principles, and consequences of the change, to offer any opinion upon it. It will be enough for me to assure you most cordially, that I am satisfied, from an intimate knowledge of your character, and from an affectionate and, at the same time, respectful confidence founded on that knowledge, that you have accepted the offices resigned by Pitt in strict conformity to your sense of public duty and of private honour; and that you will always exercise your arduous charge on the same honourable and

virtuous principles which induced you to accept it. Under this unalterable impression I offer you my warmest good wishes for your success." * * *

The next letter, from which extracts will be given, was written by Lord Rivers. It has been selected from many others which proceeded from the same friendly hand, because it presents a fair specimen of the sentiments and warm attachment of that esteemed and venerable nobleman, whose fixed and sincere regard had long constituted one of the highest testimonials to Mr. Addington's public conduct and private character.

"Stratfieldsay, Hartford Bridge, March 22d, 1801.

"My dear Sir,

"You are too well acquainted with my sentiments, both public and private, to wonder at my silence during the late affecting and arduous events. However ill prepared I may be to give utterance to all that crowds upon my heart, on one of those events I can no longer defer the expression of my joy and most cordial congratulation, upon the restoration of our beloved sovereign to his anxious and truly affectionate people.

"That alarm being dispelled, it is difficult, for the sake of that sovereign, of those particularly attached to him, and of the whole of his subjects, not to be deeply affected by the other event alluded to. All I can venture to express is, the firm opinion that, by obeying, at this crisis, the call to a breach formed by the retreat of such a column of strength and power, you have rendered a service to the nation in these perilous times that can never be estimated or forgotten. That call, whilst it proves the extraordinary discernment and intuitive penetration from whence it has proceeded, affords a proof also of those virtuous principles and rare endowments which will still expand with their object, and secure the support of every honest and real friend to his king and his country.

"In my present advanced stage, I can only contribute my

earnest wishes and most fervent prayers. Of these you are confident, as well as of the cordial and respectful attachment with which I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

"RIVERS."

Amidst his absorbing occupations, the new minister could have possessed few opportunities of replying to the numerous letters of congratulation which thus flowed in from his private correspondents. Of the answers which he found leisure to write, the following alone, which he addressed to General Simcoe, has been preserved: —

"Dear Sir, Feb. 23d, 1801.

"I feel the kindness of your letter, and cannot delay thanking you for it. I have done no more than my duty; and being actuated by that alone, and having no object but the good of my country, I have sought no political connections; but shall steadily pursue those measures which my own mind approves, and which I therefore venture to hope will be approved of and supported by parliament and the public. I am, with true regard, dear Sir, yours, &c. &c.

"HENRY ADDINGTON.

"To General Simcoe."

It is believed that the above letter contains a faithful, though brief, record of the motives and feelings which influenced Mr. Addington at this, the most trying exigency of his life. It must, long ere this, have become evident to the reader that ambition, in the usual acceptation of the term, was altogether foreign to his nature. The only ambition, indeed, by which he ever was actuated, was this, faithfully to fulfil his duty to his King, his country, and his God, by "steadily pursuing those measures of which his

own mind approved." To such a man the appeal from his sovereign*, seconded as it was by the opinion of *him* with whom for eighteen years he had felt and thought, as it were, with the same mind, was irresistible. He did not, however, make this concession to the stern obligation of duty, without clearly foreseeing the sacrifices which it imposed upon him: nevertheless, there was one sacrifice which he did not contemplate. Prepared as he was for the usual evils attendant on the situation he had accepted, he had *not* calculated on the possible loss of his friend. When he yielded to the commands of the King and the wishes of Mr. Pitt, he expressly stipulated for the support and co-operation of the latter; and he probably expected that it might still be possible for Mr. Pitt and himself to maintain the confidential communications which had hitherto subsisted between them, after their respective positions, as regarded each other, had been reversed. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that Mr. Pitt made the offer of his best assistance and advice with the same sincerity with which it was accepted; and he, too, probably looked forward to a continuance of those constant and cordial interviews at which, without distrust or interruption, they had been wont to "take sweet counsel together." † If, however, the two friends

* Vide supra, p. 287, 288.

† At the first levee which Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt attended after the designation of the former as Premier, the King, drawing them into the recess of one of the windows, said, "If we three do but keep together all will do well." Then turning to Mr. Pitt, his Majesty added, "I am sure that in appointing Mr. Addington, I have done what you would yourself have recommended." Mr. Pitt

were influenced by such feelings, it appears that they had not fully weighed the results to be expected from this change in their circumstances. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington had been intimate from their youth; and when the high opinion and personal attachment of the former had placed the latter in the chair of the House, a situation removed from the strife and fluctuations of politics, it would have been strange, indeed, if the intimacy previously subsisting between them could not have been continued. The case, however, became very different when the position of the parties was reversed. Mr. Pitt could not descend at once from his high position, and be regarded quite like another man. How much soever he might have desired to do so, neither the rules of society, nor the restraints of party, would have permitted him. Attention would naturally be directed to his words and movements. Whenever the policy pursued by himself and his successor happened to differ, their conduct and merits would be contrasted. Whenever their measures agreed, it would be said of him, as it had before been said of Lord Bute, that he was still the minister, and his successor only the puppet. Each of them also would be surrounded by his own friends and dependents; and as the followers of one succeeded those of the other in the enjoyment of their offices, it was not reasonable to expect much cordiality to pre-

replied, "Sir, in saying that, your Majesty has expressed every wish I have in the world." — *From Miss Addington's Notes of her Father's Conversations.*

"As early as 1797, Mr. Pitt said to the Speaker, 'You must make up your mind, Addington, to take the government.'" — *Notes of Conversations with the Author.*

vail between men so situated. No one, without political experience, can conceive how clamorous the junior members of a party are for place and power, and how impossible it is for any leader long to retain this class of supporters in a proper state of unity and discipline, without encouraging some hope, at least, that their taste in that respect may be gratified at no distant period.

Another circumstance not unlikely to interfere with the intimacy, as it prevailed in former days, and which, it will be found, did operate eventually, was the *impossibility* of Mr. Addington's consulting Mr. Pitt on every occasion, how much soever inclined to do so, unless the latter had remained constantly within reach. Now supposing Mr. Pitt himself to have continued at all times perfectly satisfied and contented under the loss of power and absence of occupation, his friends and dependents could not all be expected to prove equally indifferent to such advantages. How easy, therefore, would it be for them, whenever Mr. Addington decided any question without reference to Mr. Pitt, to represent to the latter that the Minister was withdrawing his confidence from him.

The progress of events constitutes another very frequent cause of unpleasantness between predecessors and their successors. Should success crown an undertaking, how natural for the friends of each to desire to claim the credit for their own principal: on the other hand, should failure be the result, how probable that each party would endeavour to shift the blame and responsibility upon the other. Through these and similar causes, statesmen, though animated perhaps by the most friendly feelings, are too often

placed on an uncomfortable footing with regard to each other, by interested or injudicious interference. Nor should we omit from this catalogue the weakness and infirmity of our common nature, which disposes even the noblest dispositions to become too sensitive of imagined slights, too ready to mistrust intentions and misinterpret words and actions. These considerations may assist us in accounting for the startling fact, that whereas Mr. Addington accepted the government in 1801 with the entire approbation and promised co-operation of Mr. Pitt, so he resigned it in 1804 in consequence of the latter's coalition with Mr. Fox, until that time his decided political opponent. It would have been happy for Mr. Addington, and still happier for Mr. Pitt, had the latter more carefully weighed these considerations before he placed in jeopardy the warmest friendship his heart, or the heart of his friend, had ever formed, by creating, through his unexpected resignation, those circumstances from which so many difficulties resulted.

All the letters written at this period agree in blaming and lamenting Mr. Pitt's resignation. He should not, it was generally felt, have reduced the King to that dilemma; and, after seventeen years' experience of his Majesty's sentiments and principles, he ought to have understood them better than to have formed such an erroneous opinion of the firmness and consistency of that great personage. Neither was he more correct in his judgment respecting the *absolute necessity* of the concessions which he advised the King to make. That they were not essential to the *stability* of the union, is evident from this, that nearly thirty years, during which that measure was

not once assailed, were suffered to elapse before they were completed; that they were not calculated to promote its popularity, is also shown by the fact that the present senseless and disgraceful clamour for its repeal did not commence until some time after they had been granted. That Mr. Pitt was bound by no direct pledge on this occasion, appears to be generally credited; and if any promises *were* made to the Catholics by other members of the government, these surely were neutralised by the promises to a contrary effect, made by the same parties to conciliate the Protestants. On the whole, to quote the words of Mr. Abbot's private record of the events of the period, "it is still a mystery why Mr. Pitt and his colleagues retired upon a question which they were not pledged upon to any one, which the Roman Catholics did not desire, and which they can now so readily forego." That Mr. Pitt himself did not consider the previous removal of the grounds which occasioned his resignation essential to his return to office, we possess the strongest evidence, namely, his own; for it appears by the subjoined extract from Mr. Abbot's diary, that within a month after he first declared his intention of resigning on the Catholic question, he was willing to drop that question and to return to office, should the King and Mr. Addington desire it: —

"15th March, 1801.

"During the last few days Mr. Dundas and his friends at Wimbledon have been endeavouring to represent that the King's illness has introduced a new state of things, so that the old ministers might still retain their offices, and provide some great and eminent situation for Mr. Addington. For a time Mr. Pitt gave way to their instances, and authorised a message to the Duke of Portland, that if it should be the

King's earnest wish, and also Mr. Addington's earnest wish, to have the former administration restored, he was prepared to discuss the circumstances. To this Mr. Addington answered that it never was his wish to quit his former situation; that the late ministers had declared their own *irrevocable determination* to resign, and they had advised his accepting the government as the only thing that could stand between the Crown and ruin; and that even now his own personal wish would be, to be restored to his family, and give them back the power they had resigned, if it could be done consistently with their own honour and the King's desire. That *they* might open the matter to the King if they pleased, but *he* would not propose it; and he trusted they would think fit previously to consult the King's physicians as to the effect such a proposition might have upon his Majesty in his present state of health. Mr. Pitt at length said he thought the project utterly improper, and that he would hold no intercourse with those who would not concur in a strenuous support of the new administration; nor should he think those persons friends to himself who croaked about their instability."

The above statement, which bears evident marks of having been communicated to Mr. Abbot by Mr. Addington himself, leaves it impossible any longer to doubt that, at this conjuncture, several of Mr. Pitt's friends warmly urged upon him his resumption of the government on the King's own terms; and that he himself, to a certain extent at least, acquiesced in their project. However irreconcilable, therefore, such acquiescence may be with the subjoined declarations of Mr. Pitt, extracted from authentic documents *, it cannot now be regarded otherwise than as

* The most convincing proof of the earnestness and determination with which Mr. Pitt had, only one month before, made up his mind to resign, is afforded as well in the authorised communication

an established fact. Reasoning, therefore, upon it as such, it may be observed that this instance of incon-

to his royal master, conveyed by the Speaker in his letter to the King of the 5th of February, 1801, which will be found in page 293. of this volume, as in his own two letters to his Majesty, bearing the respective dates of January 31st and February 3rd. In the former document we find the following sentence: "The Speaker is at the same time authorized and indeed impelled to state, *in terms suggested by Mr. Pitt himself*, that it is his (Mr. Pitt's) genuine and decided opinion, that the strength and efficiency of your Majesty's government requires that there should be no delay in carrying into effect those measures *which are become, he conceives, more necessary, in consequence of the unalterable opinions of your Majesty and himself.*" Several expressions in Mr. Pitt's two letters to his Majesty manifest equal inflexibility of purpose with regard to the question at issue. Thus in the former one he observes, "It is with inexpressible regret, after all he now knows of your Majesty's sentiments, that Mr. Pitt troubles your Majesty thus at large, with the general grounds of his opinion, *and finds himself obliged to add that this opinion is unalterably fixed in his mind.* If," he adds a little further on, "if your Majesty's objections to the measure should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished *to admit of its being brought forward with your Majesty's full concurrence, and with the whole weight of government*; it must be personally Mr. Pitt's first wish to be released from a situation, which he is conscious that, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage." In the letter of the 3d of February, Mr. Pitt expressed himself still more decidedly. "The final decision," he said, "which your Majesty has formed on the great subject in question (the motives to which he honours and respects), *and his own unalterable sense of the line which public duty requires from him*, must make him consider the moment as now arrived, when, on the principles already explained, it must be his first wish to be released, as soon as possible, from his present situation." So eager and anxious indeed was he on the subject, that he could not even wait the King's convenience; but complained that the "difficulty of his temporary continuance would increase, and might under certain circumstances which he mentioned, very shortly become insuperable." After receiving these letters, how astonished would the King have been, if, on his recovery, he had been informed, that Mr. Pitt had changed his

sistency and indecision is much to be regretted in so great and wise a statesman. Error of the heart it could not be, for Mr. Pitt's honour, disinterestedness, and devotion to his King and country, were beyond all question. But it appears impossible to account for so great a change of sentiment, apparently unaccompanied by any corresponding change in circumstances, without considering either his resolution to resign, or his resolution, if invited, to return to office (probably the former), as an erroneous step, calculated to place his Majesty, himself, and Mr. Addington, in a false position. It has, indeed, been intimated that Mr. Pitt was moved (partly, at least) to this new line of policy by his affection for the King, whose indisposition, as he well knew, had been chiefly occasioned by the anxiety resulting from the late events. That anxiety, however, he was also aware, was now at an end; the arrangements were complete; his Majesty was highly satisfied with them, and doubtless would have been perplexed, and not relieved, by further changes. It would appear, therefore, that some other mode of accounting for Mr. Pitt's conduct, must be resorted to; and the author is disposed to impute it to a single weakness in that great man, which he finds noticed more than once in the correspondence, namely, a facility of disposition which subjected him to the influence of inferior minds.

This peculiarity of character was first pointed out to the Speaker on the 11th of January, 1794, by Sir John Mitford, who, when writing of Mr. Pitt, observed:

mind, and was now willing to hold the Premiership, in commendam, with the indefinite suspension of the concession to the Roman Catholics.

"He has this fault: he suffers himself not unfrequently to be swayed from his opinion by those whose judgment is very inferior to his own."

A similar remark was made by Lord Hood to the Speaker on the 4th of August, 1796:—"It is most exceedingly to be lamented that Mr. Pitt gives up his judgment (which is great beyond example) to that of men who act from whim, caprice, and resentment, without due regard and attention to the public weal." Mr. Pitt's own biographer, in lamenting his resignation in 1801, attributes that step to the same cause*:—"I cannot but conceive," he says, "that he now suffered his better judgment to be led astray by the confidence of inferior minds: allowed himself to be directed where he ought to have directed others; and gave his assent to a measure, the fatal consequences of which he certainly did not appreciate."

Having regarded as a fact Mr. Pitt's readiness to retract his resignation, we must receive Mr. Addington's indisposition to adopt that suggestion as a fact also; and surely no justification of the course which he then pursued can now be required. Not to mention what belonged to the King's honour and dignity, and setting aside, as no man was ever more ready to do than Mr. Addington, his own interests and feelings—his former office already given to another, and himself publicly designated as the Prime Minister—it was due to Mr. Pitt's own character and reputation, not to encourage his resuming in March the office which he had so deliberately resigned in the preceding month.

* Gifford's Life of Pitt, vol. vi. p. 559.

The cold reception thus given by Mr. Addington to the strange proposition of Mr. Pitt's friends confirms, in the best and clearest manner, the distinct contradiction which the writer feels fully authorised to give to the report, that Mr. Addington ever considered himself as a mere "locum tenens" for Mr. Pitt. Upon this point he has conferred with those who to the last lived in the closest intimacy with Lord Sidmouth, and to whom, as well as to himself, his Lordship was in the constant habit of detailing all the circumstances of this period; and to none of them did he ever address one word that tended in the smallest degree to confirm the report above alluded to. On the contrary, it was always evident, from his conversation, that although he accepted office most reluctantly, and did all in his power to prevent his friend's resignation, still he considered that Mr. Pitt's letters to the King, and his own resignation of the Speakership, were conclusive steps; and that the Rubicon being thus passed, it was impossible for either party, and especially for Mr. Pitt, whose honour was dear to him as his own, to recede. That, knowing he could not go on without the support of one of the two great parties which divided the nation, he relied upon, and stipulated for, the co-operation of Mr. Pitt and his friends; and that he accepted, and, as long as possible, retained Mr. Pitt's assistance; and both felt and regretted its being withdrawn;—these are facts perfectly consistent with his independence as a minister, and naturally resulted from that cordial and uninterrupted intimacy between the parties, which has been described in the progress of this work. After all, however, the most convincing proof that

Mr. Addington did not regard himself as Mr. Pitt's "locum tenens" is derived from the fact, that he objected to the plan of Mr. Pitt's return to office the moment it was proposed to him; which it is scarcely possible to believe he would do, or could have done, had he stood in the situation alluded to.*

There still remains one more topic connected with these events which requires a few remarks. The publication alluded to at the foot of this page has described an interview with which about this time the Prince of Wales honoured Mr. Addington, as having occurred in a manner which, if true, was unbecoming the dignity and urbanity for which His Royal Highness was so highly distinguished, and disrespectful to Mr. Addington himself; and which, therefore, it scarcely need be added, is most incorrectly represented.

Fortunately Mr. Abbot has recorded in his diary the exact particulars of the interview in question, which Mr. Addington communicated to him in conversation on the same day (March 1st) on which it occurred.

The favourable representation which that extract will be found to make of the Prince's esteem for Mr.

* The acceptance of office upon such a tenure would have been so derogatory to the character of a high-bred English gentleman, like Mr. Addington, that this rumour would have been passed over as undeserving of the slightest notice, but for the confident manner in which it is stated by Lord Malmesbury. (Diary, vol. iv. p. 8.). The following is the reply which the venerable Lord Bexley, who was himself a member of the Addington administration, made to a direct question on this point which was put to his Lordship on the 15th of July, 1845: — "That Mr. Addington accepted office as *locum tenens*, I consider, as you do, a ridiculous fiction."

Addington, is fully confirmed in a series of letters addressed to the latter, in the present and two preceding years, by Sir John Macpherson, from which it appears that during that period His Royal Highness had, through Sir John, communicated frequently with the Speaker in a most gracious and cordial manner, and had favoured him with much of his confidence on matters of considerable delicacy and importance.

When his Majesty's indisposition had become so serious that public prayers were (by authority) offered up for his recovery, both the state of the kingdom — at war with all the world excepting Portugal, and with an administration as yet only half completed — and the measures necessary to be pursued in case of the King's prolonged illness, naturally attracted the anxious attention of the Heir Apparent; and it was consistent, therefore, with wisdom and propriety, that his Royal Highness should desire to confer with the existing Prime Minister on the posture of affairs. On the other hand, Mr. Addington's peculiar situation rendered it a matter of especial delicacy that he should refrain from waiting upon the Prince unless by express command, lest he should appear to be seeking from his Royal Highness a continuance in office; and thus the very circumstance which has been so distorted in the passage quoted in the subjoined note as to appear derogatory to the Prince and to Mr. Addington, does, in fact, when truly represented, redound greatly to the credit of both those parties.*

* Extract from the Diary of Lord Malmesbury, 1801: — "*Feb. 27th.* The Prince of Wales sent for Addington; asked him if he was Minister. 'No, sir,' replied he; 'not I, but Mr.

Mr. Addington's own statement, as made at the time to Mr. Abbot, and immediately recorded by that gentleman, will now be added. It appears rather to encourage a supposition that the Prince already meditated the policy which eleven years afterwards he pursued, of continuing the services of his father's minister, and which, as Mr Abbot's diary informs us, on the authority of Mr. Addington himself, was now recommended to his Royal Highness by Mr. Pitt.

"Sunday, March 1st.

"The Prince of Wales sent Admiral Payne to Mr. Addington this morning to say, that he had already intimated his wish to see Mr. Addington; and the Admiral added, that he thought the earlier the more agreeable to his Royal Highness. Mr. Addington explained that not having received his Royal Highness' *commands* before, he had voluntarily forborne to call, as it must appear either to be courting a situation which he would by preference (on personal grounds) decline, or it must seem to be seeking for that declaration of favour, which he understood there was a disposition to show him. But that, being now commanded, he should go immediately. Admiral Payne added, that the Prince had been told that Mr. Addington obtained the King's signature on Tuesday last to the commission, and had expressed great displeasure at it, till Mr. Pelham had assured his Royal Highness that it was impossible. The truth is, that Mr. Addington told me 'that he had positively refused to carry the commission to the King: and that it was the Lord Chancellor (Loughborough) who, on hearing this in the cabinet, took the responsibility upon himself, and had done so ac-

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Pitt.' 'In that case, pray send Mr. Pitt to me.' Addington, I am told, hesitated, and said most awkwardly, that he would consult the Duke of York. 'No advice can be wanted on such occasions, Mr. Addington,' said the Prince; 'and if you decline acceding to my *request*, be so good as to obey my *commands*.'"

cordingly.' Mr. Addington told Admiral Payne, this was only *one of the ten thousand falsehoods which had been circulated*, and would be found to be untrue in good time, but that he should certainly not make a professed explanation on the subject.

"He went to the Prince, who received him very graciously, and said, that if necessary, *he should look to him* for his assistance; and that Lord Spencer, who had just been there, had spoken of Mr. Addington's conduct throughout as highly correct and honourable."*

The narrative now returns to the regular course of events and to the proceedings of Mr. Addington, which, it will be recollected, were left in a state of suspension through his Majesty's lamented indisposition. At this period the parliament was sitting; and, as the absence of the Minister, under these circumstances, would be especially inconvenient, it was arranged that Mr. Addington should at once vacate his seat by the acceptance of the Chiltern Hundreds; Mr. Pitt retaining,

* The above is the fourth correction of a like number of direct and obvious mis-statements respecting Mr. Addington, *comprised within the brief compass of twelve pages* of Lord Malmesbury's diary, which has already been made in recording the transactions of only a few days.

These refutations, it is hoped, will prove quite sufficient to guard every candid reader against the tendency of that publication to disparage the public character of Mr. Addington; and will prepare him for the announcement that diligent search has in vain been made through the Sidmouth papers, for the slightest proof or confirmation of any of the numerous charges and insinuations against the new Minister, with which Lord Malmesbury's fugitive record of the false and fleeting rumours of the day unfortunately abounds. *In truth, none such exist;* and the Author here, once for all, offers his solemn assurance, that after a careful and anxious inquiry into such of these various statements as tend in the slightest degree to derogate from Mr. Addington's reputation, he does not find one that is not susceptible either of actual contradiction, complete refutation, or satisfactory explanation.

in the interim, the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and engaging to fulfil its duties. Accordingly, on the 19th of February, Mr. Addington resigned, and a new writ was ordered for Devizes; but, as it was impossible that his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer should immediately take place, in consequence of the King's unfortunate illness, and as the election could not be postponed, he took his seat, on the 27th of the same month, as a private member. This obliged him again to vacate, to be re-elected on his acceptance of office; the result of all which postponements was, that he did not finally take his seat in the House until the 23d of March.* During the long interval in which parliament was thus deprived of the services of the selected Minister, Mr. Pitt fulfilled the official duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and in that capacity, on the 18th of February, in accordance with his offer to that effect, brought forward his annual budget, which, indeed, he had prepared before he had contemplated resignation, and which, though it included a loan of 25,500,000*l.*, and a permanent addition of 1,750,000*l.* to the annual taxation, was, under the peculiar circumstances, carried without serious opposition. †

On the 27th of February, the day on which Mr. Addington temporarily resumed his seat, Mr. Sheridan, with a delicacy and propriety to which the whole House responded, moved an immediate adjournment, in order to prevent the discussion of a very objection-

* Mr. Abbot's Diary.

† Mr. Abbot states in his Diary, March 16th, that Mr. Pitt selected his non-official seat in the House "on the right hand of the chair, in the third row from the floor, and in the angle next to one of the iron pillars."

able motion respecting the King's illness, of which Mr. Nicholls had given notice.

No letters have been preserved which were written by Mr. Addington at this particular period; but, fortunately, the diary of Mr. Abbot, for the accuracy of which the high character of that gentleman is a sufficient guarantee, contains a record of the leading events; and from that document, therefore, the remaining links will now be supplied until the resumption of the interrupted correspondence.

"*February* 16*th.* In the House of Commons a debate arose upon the question of Army estimates. In the course of it Mr. Pitt said, that whether he should hereafter support the measure which he had recently thought it his duty to propose to the Crown, depended on the views he might entertain of its affecting the tranquillity of the kingdom, if proposed in any other way.

"*February* 17*th.* The Speaker thanked Mr. Addington from the chair, and he replied; he came at four o'clock unexpectedly, and went away immediately afterwards.

"*February* 18*th.* Went to Mr. Addington at ten. He said he had an hour and a half's conversation with the King yesterday. He also said, that the Duke of Montrose having declined the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland*, (though in the

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* This his Grace did in the following terms: —

"My dear Sir, Grosvenor Square, 16th Feb. 1801.

"I must express the gratification I feel on your friendly communication, and avow myself raised in my own estimation by it, and from the opinion formed of me by the persons you named. Believe me, I do not seek to have the appointment of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland pressed on me. I would accept it frankly, great as the trust must be considered, if I could undertake it; but, with my opinions, I could not answer to myself accepting that situation, for accepting I could not have in view that line of conduct, which would alone make me bold, open, and easy at heart. * * * It is unnecessary for me to use strong expressions, in assuring you of my sincere

handsomest way), he had proposed it to Lord Winchilsea, who also declined it, but with the most friendly expressions.

"Mr. Addington said, that in forming his administration and appointments, his line had been this; not to require any pledge upon the *principle* of refusing further indulgence to the Catholics; to erect no standard of proscription against any man upon the *abstract question*, or on the propriety of doing more for the Catholics *hereafter*, but that it was enough to be of opinion, that *now* was *not* the time, nor *these* the circumstances for entering upon any such change.

"The first cabinet dinner was at his house yesterday. Mr. Pitt opened the budget to-day. No opposition member made any comment whatever upon the taxes, and they seemed to meet with general approbation.

"*February*, 22*d*. Lord Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Addington told his Lordship, that from the first he had thought of him, should circumstances permit: that his Lordship's nomination was approved of by all the Cabinet Ministers.

"*February* 23*d*. Yesterday the King was very unwell indeed. The Princess Elizabeth, in the Queen's name, had begged Mr. Addington would do what he thought best. Mr. Addington had communicated the whole to the Prince of Wales, Duke of York, and all the Ministers, and to Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and Lord Chatham. He had declared his own cherished opinion, that the plain course to follow was that of 1788. * * * * The King had told Mr. Addington, 'my bodily health is naturally good, but my nerves are weak: I am sensible of that. Your father said, twelve years ago, that quiet was what I wanted, and that I must have.'*

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regard, which makes me regret not being able to take advantage of the very flattering and kind opportunity you have afforded me of showing to the world that respect and high opinion which I profess to entertain of your honour and intentions.

"I am, my dear Sir, yours sincerely,

"MONTROSE.

"To the Right Hon. Henry Addington."

* His Majesty's exact words were: "Who was it that said, 'Let him alone, and he will do well?'"—*Family Recollections.*

"*February 24th.* Went to Mr. Addington, Prince William of Gloucester with him; and upon his going away, I was introduced as going to Ireland. Mr. Addington said, the King is certainly better. Mr. Addington had felt great anxiety about me, and had talked to Mr. Pitt last night respecting my situation.

"*February 26th.* Went to Mr. Addington. His account of the King was, all his symptoms bespeak amendment. Mr. Addington has been twice every day, and is the only person not of his attendants who has seen him.

"The government cannot go on without some change next week, on account of the money business. The mode of proceeding has been discussed. Mr. Pitt, upon the discussion, gave no opinion. Mr. Addington formed his, but communicated it to no one but Mr. Bragge. This happened on Tuesday the 24th. Yesterday Mr. Pitt went to the Prince, and represented to him, that respect for the King, and the Prince's own interests, equally required that so soon as the Regency came to him, he should complete the arrangements as intended by the King; to which his Royal Highness assented. Mr. Pitt then came and told the whole to Mr. Addington. The two interchanged opinions, which had exactly coincided.

"*Friday, Feb. 27th.* Met Mr. Pitt, who said the King was certainly better; and in the house that day he said 'he had ardent, and, he believed, well-founded hopes that no event was likely to require a communication to parliament.' * * * Mr. Grey had declared his intention to oppose Mr. Nicholls's motion (respecting the King's health), but Sheridan had the dexterity to anticipate his intention by starting up abruptly in the midst of the private business, with the order book in his hand, as if he had unexpectedly seen the notice of motion.

"*Saturday, Feb. 28th.* Saw Mr. Addington. * * * Said we must soon have a meeting with the Attorney and Solicitor General, York, Grant, and others; and talk over the three great questions: — 1. Catholic emancipation; 2. neutral powers; 3. peace and war; and prepare for some stout debates, and not rely too much on the support of the ex-ministers."

From this date the diary contains only successive notices of the King's happy progress towards convalescence, until Monday, March the 9th, from the entry for which day the extracts are resumed: —

"Mr. Addington, who was taken ill on the 6th with rheumatic fever, is better to-day. The Prince of Wales was with him for an hour.

"*Wednesday evening, March 11th.* Staid with Mr. Addington an hour. The King saw him to-day, and expressed a great desire to have all the arrangements completed instantly. He spoke with just sensibility of the great attachment shown to him by the people and by his own family. He was as fit for business as at any moment of his life, but his bodily strength much lowered. * * * Within the last three or four days, attempts have been made by Lord Carlisle and others, to make a junction of part old and part new administration, to which the obvious objections were the impossibility of Mr. Addington giving up his friends, who had consented to act with him, and the equal impossibility of Mr. Pitt remaining in office after the resignation of his former colleagues."

These extracts have carried the reader even beyond the period when his Majesty's entire and happy recovery removed the anxiety by which every loyal bosom was oppressed, and released the old and new administrations from that uncertain and anomalous position in which they had hitherto been placed. The earliest testimonial, probably, which has been preserved of the King's resumption of his official duties is the following autograph note, acknowledging the receipt of a minute of a cabinet held on the preceding day, which appears to have been forwarded to his Majesty by Mr. Pitt, (who was still Chancellor of the Exchequer) accompanied by a note from Mr. Addington. This document

may even now be deemed interesting, from the very peculiar circumstances under which it was written and will therefore be subjoined.

"10th of March, $\frac{H}{10}$ A.M.

"His Majesty cordially approves of the minute of Cabinet transmitted by his Majesty's Chancellor of Exchequer, in the box accompanied by Mr. Addington's letter, dated yesterday, at forty minutes past four, p. m. The King authorises his Minister to acquaint his Majesty's newly appointed Cabinet of his approbation of their minute.

"GEORGE R."

On Saturday, March the 14th, his Majesty received from Mr. Pitt the resignation of his office; and, on the same day, presented the seals to Mr. Addington, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The responsibility, therefore, of the latter at length commenced; and as his administration, with a few exceptions which will hereafter be noticed, was now completed, a list of the principal members is subjoined, from which it appears that several individuals, who afterwards became eminent for their talents and distinguished services, were first called into public notice on this occasion.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF MR. ADDINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION, MARCH, 1801.

Right Hon. Henry Addington, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor.
Duke of Portland, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for the War Department.
Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.
Lord Chatham, President of the Council.
Lord Westmorland, Lord Privy Seal.
Lord St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Lewisham*, President of the India Board.

In June and July, the following changes took place; —Lord Chatham became Master General of the Ordnance; the Duke of Portland, President of the Council, *vice* Lord Chatham; Lord Pelham, Secretary of State, *vice* Duke of Portland. The above constituted the cabinet.

OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Mr. Charles Abbot, Chief Secretary in Ireland.†
Sir R. Pepper Arden, created Baron Alvanley and Chief Justice Common Pleas, *vice* Lord Eldon.
Sir Wm. Grant, Master of the Rolls, *vice* Sir R. P. Arden.
Sir Edward Law, Attorney General.
Hon. Spencer Perceval, Solicitor General.
Right Hon. Charles Yorke, Secretary at War.
Lord Glenbervie, Right Hon. T. Steele } Joint Paymasters.
Charles Bragge, Esq., Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Charles Spencer, and Lord Auckland } Joint Postmasters General.
Lord Arden, Master of the Mint.
Nicholas Vansittart, Esq., John Hiley Addington, Esq. } Secretaries of the Treasury.
Hon. Dudley Ryder‡, Treasurer of the Navy.

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* Afterwards succeeded by Lord Castlereagh.
† Afterwards succeeded by Mr. Wickham.
‡ Succeeded, shortly afterwards, by Charles Bragge, Esq.

John Smith, Esq. Charles S. Pybus, Esq. Nathaniel Bond, Esq., and Lord George Thynne	Lords of the Treasury.
Sir Philip Stephens, Bart. William Elliott, Esq. Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart. James Adams, Esq. John Markham, Esq., and William Gartshore, Esq.	Commissioners of the Admiralty.

The late Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, received on his retirement the Earldom of Rosslyn; and Mr. Dundas's services were acknowledged, not long afterwards, by his elevation to the peerage with the title of Viscount Melville.*

These were the men, who, at a moment of unexampled difficulty—when the great mind by which public affairs had hitherto been conducted had withdrawn its assistance—readily placed themselves in the breach at their sovereign's call. Whatever may have been said by their opponents respecting their want of experience, or ability, they speedily entitled themselves to the public favour by their firm, judicious, and conciliatory measures. That they enjoyed, from the beginning, the entire confidence of him to whom they

* Of the above numerous phalanx, there are now, at the distance of forty-five years, but two survivors, Lord Bexley and the Earl of Harrowby. The former nobleman—as, by his valuable public services in various capacities, and especially as Chancellor of the Exchequer, during a protracted period of unprecedented difficulty, he subsequently entitled himself to Mr. Addington's hearty approbation, so, by his numerous private virtues did he obtain that Minister's warm and unchangeable attachment. Although his Lordship has long directed his chief attention to the interests of another world, his assistance is still ready at the call of friendship; and to his pen the author is indebted for the authentic statements respecting Mr. Addington's financial measures, which will be communicated in succeeding chapters.

were, in the first instance, responsible, is satisfactorily shown by the following letter, written, at the conclusion of the arrangements, by that high personage himself:—

King George III. to Mr. Addington.

"Queen's House, Sunday evening, 15th March, 1801.

"His Majesty has received the box containing the new appointments of Postmaster, as also that of joint Paymaster. The King cannot find words sufficiently expressive of his Majesty's cordial approbation of the whole arrangements which *his own Chancellor of the Exchequer* has wisely, and, his Majesty chooses to add, most correctly recommended.

"GEORGE R."

CHAPTER XII.

1801.

Contrasted Position of Speaker of the House of Commons and Prime Minister. Attacks on the new Administration in both Houses of Parliament. Its Defence by Mr. Pitt, &c. &c. Critical State of the Country. Mr. Addington's first Speech as Premier. Majorities in favour of Government. Disturbances in the West. The Northern Confederacy. Expedition against Denmark — Lord Nelson second in Command. His friendly Relation with Mr. Addington. Negotiation with Denmark confided to Mr. Vansittart. His Account of the Proceedings, and Letters during their Progress. Success of the Expedition. Letters from the Danish Minister to Mr. Addington. Observations on the Measure. Conduct of the Northern Powers. Letter from Copenhagen. Embassy of Lord St. Helens to Petersburgh. Convention between Great Britain and Russia.

A SINGULAR contrast is presented in parliament, by the manner in which the Speaker of the House of Commons and the Prime Minister of the country are respectively treated. The former is regarded as a person who can do nothing wrong; the latter, as one who can do nothing right. All parties unite to confer honour on the Speaker; both leaders and followers lavish their courtesy upon him. But the case is generally very different with respect to the Prime Minister, who is viewed rather as a common mark against which every discontented person may discharge his shafts with impunity: and who has a phalanx of avowed opponents canvassing all his measures, refusing

him the credit of success, imputing to him the blame of every failure, and watching all occasions to overthrow him. Mr. Addington experienced the usual treatment of prime ministers, at the moment he vacated that chair, from whence, as from a land-locked harbour, he had so long viewed the storm raging in the political ocean around him, without being affected by it. His case, indeed, furnished a striking instance of that rapid transition of feeling which has just been noticed, inasmuch as during the same evening on which the grateful thanks of the House were unanimously voted to him for his conduct as Speaker, his brother was obliged to appeal to the first principles of justice in his behalf, by claiming for "his honourable relative that he might not be prejudged." Nor was this the only foretaste of the altered description of life which awaited him. Scarcely had he resigned his former office, before even his administration was formed, Lord Carlisle in the Upper House, and Mr. Sheridan, Lord Temple, Mr Western and others in the Lower, afforded him a specimen of the language he was thenceforth to expect, denominating his government a "rickety administration, a thing of shreds and patches," and specially complaining of the declaration made by the retiring ministers, that it would follow, in most respects, the policy and measures of its predecessor. He was, however, on these occasions, most ably and zealously defended by Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and others, who, on behalf of their late colleagues and themselves, expressed in clear, though general terms, their determination to support his government.

"The right honourable gentleman," said Mr. Pitt, on the 16th February, speaking of his intended successor, "had

already filled one situation of great eminence and importance with the most distinguished ability, and this was the best ground of hope and the surest augur of his services in another exalted situation." "The period," said Lord Grenville, on the 10th of February, "during which I and my colleagues have been in office has been critical beyond example. * * * It is our consolation to reflect, that the same vigorous line of conduct will still be pursued. Though we have retired from office no change of measures will take place; but the system which has already proved so salutary will continue to be acted upon by our successors. Though we may differ from them on some points, in most there is no difference between us; and while they continue to act in a firm, resolute, and manly manner, they shall have our steady support. Our most anxious wish is, (and though I express it last, it is nearest to my heart,) that they may receive from your Lordships and the public the same support which we have experienced."

Lord Spencer also stated to their Lordships, "that he fully acquiesced in the assurances that had been made by his noble friend Lord Grenville;" and expressed "the intention by which he was actuated of continuing his support of the general system that was to be adopted by his successors."

Thus supported then, and thus opposed, Mr. Addington entered upon his arduous duties; arduous they may truly be called, since no man probably ever undertook the government of any country under more critical circumstances. The war was now in its ninth year, during which interval, the position which Great Britain occupied at its commencement had become altogether reversed. To use Mr. Addington's own words, "the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden had crushed the efforts, and annihilated the hopes of the Continent; and after the treaty of Luneville,

France had no enemy but Great Britain, Turkey, and the kingdoms of Naples and Portugal; and Great Britain no ally, but the three last-mentioned powers." Of our original associates, Holland was incorporated with France; Austria, exhausted and defeated, had been compelled to accept peace on terms dictated by the conqueror, — one of which was, the exclusion of British merchandise from her whole frontier; — and Spain had become hostile; whilst Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, always hitherto neutral, and sometimes friendly, had entered into a confederacy for the purpose of subverting her maritime rights.

Thus nearly the whole Continent was closed against this country; whilst our three remaining allies, the two Sicilies, Portugal, and the Porte, were all so enfeebled and defenceless, as rather to need support than to afford assistance. Whilst this was the calamitous aspect of foreign affairs, at home, again to employ Mr. Addington's own words, "there was no prospect but of domestic embarrassments. In Great Britain, the people were discontented; in Ireland, on the verge of renewed rebellion. The failure of the preceding harvest had raised the price of provisions to the most alarming height, and the disaffected were again actively at work in various parts of the United Kingdom, with reform in their mouths and revolution in their hearts. The first step of the new administration was to appoint a commission of secrecy in each House of parliament, to inquire into the proceedings of the seditious in every part of the United Kingdom; and the result of the investigation was, the development of projects so atrocious and formidable, as to induce parliament to renew the Bill for the Suppression of Seditious

Meetings, and to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. To add to these embarrassments, the war, which had long been made a stalking-horse by the disaffected, was now regarded with uneasiness and repugnance, even by a large proportion of the well disposed members of the community; whilst, since the commencement of the war, the national debt, which then amounted to 227,000,000*l.*, had been nearly doubled, and 25,500,000*l.* had been added to it in the present year, to enable the available income of the kingdom, amounting to about 40,000,000*l.*, to meet the whole annual charge which, including 20,144,000*l.*, the interest of the national debt, had swollen to the enormous sum of 68,000,000*l.* The army also, during the same interval, had sustained prodigious losses, chiefly from disease; whilst, at this same crisis, the country, though seriously threatened with invasion, was carrying on two distant expeditions, one for the recovery of Egypt, the other for the dissolution of the Northern Confederacy." *

Such were the almost overwhelming difficulties with which the new administration had to contend: on the other hand, they enjoyed, what is very unusual, the support of their predecessors. No immediate change, therefore, took place in the relative state of parties; but the preponderance remained, as heretofore, greatly in favour of the ministry.

The earliest serious attempt of the Opposition, to ascertain the feeling of parliament respecting the recent changes, was made in the shape of motions for committees to inquire into the state of the nation, which were brought forward by Lord Darnley in the

* Mr. Addington's notes to Mr. Le Mesurier's pamphlet, also his finance resolutions of June 29th, 1801.

House of Lords, on the 20th of March, and in the Commons by Mr. Grey, on the 25th of the same month. By these means, the members of the *late government* were necessarily placed upon their defence: but the *new administration* not having participated in the proceedings under consideration, could not possibly be regarded as responsible for them; and, consequently, they left their predecessors to justify their own measures with reference both to the conduct of the war, and their recent resignation of office. On the former topic Mr. Dundas made a masterly statement, clearly showing that as far as this country *alone* was concerned, the issue of the war had been highly glorious to our arms; but, with regard to the second subject discussed, Mr. Pitt, not having perhaps altogether so good a case as usual, did not defend himself with quite his usual success. On this occasion the new Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, towards the conclusion of the debate, immediately after Mr. Fox*; and since this his first speech as Minister may be regarded as, in some degree, an exposition of the principles by which his Cabinet would be guided, a brief abstract of its contents, will not, it is hoped, be deemed superfluous: —

After a few prefatory observations Mr. Addington said, that, as the supposed

"Principles of himself and his colleagues had excited the distrust of one honourable gentleman, and been made the

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* Mr. Fox, after his prolonged occultation, and one or two momentary re-appearances, now returned permanently to his parliamentary duties; in reference to which circumstance, Mr. Pitt, in this debate, jocularly alluded to him as "the new member."

subject of encomium by another, he begged to observe that he should neither adopt nor reject any system because it had been that of any persons whatever, however highly he might respect them. He knew of no principles and no system but such as might appear best calculated to promote the true interests of his sovereign and of the country. On the subject of confidence, the doctrines which had at different times been maintained were strikingly diversified. In the year 1784, a representation to his Majesty had been moved by Mr. Fox, recommending the dismissal of his ministers, because, as it was alleged, they did not enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons and of the public. In a few years afterwards, it was made a matter of reproach to the House that they gave that confidence, and to the ministers that they were the objects of it. Now, again, the *previous* confidence of the House is declared necessary to sanction appointments which have taken place by the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the Crown. In what degree that confidence might be supposed to extend to his Majesty's present ministers it was not for him to conjecture. They only asked, however, for that portion of it which belonged to persons constitutionally appointed by his Majesty, unless it was precluded by their antecedent conduct and characters. Of himself he would say no more than that he should be grieved indeed, if it could be supposed that any of the allurements which had been stated by Mr. Fox could have induced him to exchange the situation which he had filled for twelve years, for that in which, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, he was now placed. By those who gave him credit for preferring works of kindness to those of animosity, and an intercourse approaching to friendship, to one approaching to hostility, it would not be doubted that a sense of duty and allegiance alone had directed his conduct, and that for that alone he had sacrificed every other consideration." He then commented "on the principal topics upon which the motion was founded, especially on the leading points in dispute between this country and the northern powers, and declared it to be his decided opinion that the right for which we were contending was vital and fundamental; that it could neither be aban-

doned nor compromised; it was, however, his utmost wish that it should be asserted temperately, though firmly, and be exercised with as little vexation as possible to the interests and feelings of all the maritime states." * * * Adverting to the question of Catholic emancipation, he "deprecated whatever might have the appearance of intolerance and proscription. No restraint ought to be imposed on those who dissented from the Established Church but what was deemed absolutely necessary for its security and stability; and he anxiously hoped that dissenters of all descriptions would feel assured that they were regarded in no other light by the government than as truly respectable members of the community.

"On the subject of peace and war, it had been asked by Mr. Fox how the restoration of peace could be expected from those who had rejoiced at the failure of the negotiation at Lisle? He would only say that he had never expressed any such sentiment, and he could truly aver that he had never entertained it. He assured the House it was the determination of his Majesty's servants to take such steps as appeared to them best calculated for the restoration of peace; that no consideration, arising from the form of government in France would, on their part, obstruct negotiation; and that if there were a corresponding disposition on the part of the enemy, the grand object to which the efforts of government would be directed would, he trusted, be accomplished. The question must be one of terms, and of terms only; and he was sure the French government would justly be discredited by the advancement of any claims that might be inconsistent with the security and honour of this country." The right honourable gentleman concluded with saying "that he had abstained from any professions and declarations but such as he thought the House was entitled to expect, and which might be made, on his part, with propriety and discretion. He asked for no confidence but what was strictly constitutional: he would occupy no party ground, but would throw himself entirely on the House and the country."*

* Parliamentary Register, vol. lix. p. 356.

Mr. Grey, in his reply, said he was "happy to find the tone of the late administration changed to sentiments of more becoming moderation;" and on a division, the stability of the new government was triumphantly confirmed by a majority of 186; whilst in the House of Peers the same object was effected by a numerical superiority proportionably large, amounting to 87. This gratifying proof of his establishment in the confidence of parliament must have left the Minister more at liberty to direct attention to other events in progress both at home and abroad. Of the former description, the principal objects of anxiety were the agrarian disturbances in the western parts of England, fomented by mischievous individuals, operating upon a discontented spirit, resulting from the high price of provisions. Mr. Abbot, in his diary of April 3d, alludes to a communication which he received that day from Mr. Addington, of "risings in the west;" and there is a letter dated March 30th, from General Simcoe, who commanded in that district, stating "that the law of the country was totally overthrown from the Parret to the Teign, and that the mischief was increasing. This he attributed to the loss of influence among the gentry and magistracy, and to the lower classes having been misled by parties perhaps but one degree higher than themselves;" and he proceeded to detail the measures by which he hoped to "secure the country from the towns, to recall the peasantry to their duty, to encourage the yeomanry to act, and to supply the deficiency of his force by its activity; namely, dividing the county into hundreds, and appointing a resident country gentleman to the superintendence of each, thus combining

the civil and military powers in the support of the laws. Spirit," he concludes, "governs the world; and there never was more need of it than at present;" an axiom in which no man more fully accorded than the minister to whom it was addressed.

The General's report of the disaffected state of Devonshire was fully confirmed in a letter of the same date from Colonel Bastard, M.P. for that county, who was quartered at Plymouth with his regiment of militia. That gentleman attributed the evil —

"Partly to the effect of scarcity; partly to the small comparative numbers of country gentlemen; something to the ordinary pressure of the war; and, above all, to the diabolical spirit of the times. To such an extent," he added, "did this spirit predominate amongst the dock-yards men, and so organised were they at the moment, that the commissioner had thought it necessary to spike the cannon within the yard." Indeed so daring, yet so dastardly, was the conduct of these rioters, that they actually "sent delegates to the guard-house, where the magistrates were committing two culprits, for the purpose of overawing the bench," and obtaining the release of their confederates; but no sooner were they told by Colonel Bastard that "the magistrates would hold no communication with traitors, and that the only answer they would receive would proceed from the artillery, than an alteration in their manner took place, and they slunk away to their constituents, whom they advised to return to their duty." On the whole, Mr. Bastard considered the disturbances subdued, and this result he "attributed to their possessing a Lord Lieutenant (Earl Fortescue) of firmness, decision, and activity to an eminent degree; and a General (Simcoe) who was more than an army in himself."

That Mr. Addington fully partook in this favourable opinion of the General is shown in the following reply to that officer's communication: —

"My dear Sir, Downing Street, April 1st, 1801.

"Even before I received your letter my uneasiness at the disturbances in the west was very much relieved by the consideration that you held the command in the district in which they had taken place. I have the most perfect reliance in the soundness of your judgment, and in the vigour, temper, and firmness, which will actuate your conduct; and I can truly assure you that the confidence I feel, and have expressed, is entertained in an equal degree by all the other members of his Majesty's government. With true regard, I am ever, dear Sir, yours, &c. &c.

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

Whilst these domestic events were in progress, the Minister's attention was deeply occupied by two grand undertakings of foreign policy, which his predecessors had commenced but not brought to a termination — the armament destined to oppose the hostile confederacy of the three great northern powers against the maritime claims of Great Britain, and the expedition to expel the French army from Egypt.

The former of these was already in a state of preparation, when Mr. Pitt's resignation took place. The legal question, therefore, had been considered and decided by the preceding government. Hence it is only necessary to state here the decided views of Sir William Scott, Sir William Grant, Lord Eldon, Lord Rosslyn, Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and all who were best versed in the principles of international law. These were, first, that the rights for which Great Britain contended on this occasion were not any special privileges or exemptions in her own favour, but what had constituted for ages the general and acknowledged law of nations, and belonged, without distinction, to all other powers in a capacity to ex-

ercise them, as much as to herself. Secondly, that the claim sought to be established by the northern confederacy, namely, that "free bottoms make free goods," had neither been conceded to those powers by special treaty, nor was founded on any general principle of international law; and, thirdly, that the concession of such claim, whereby any nation at war with Great Britain would be enabled, in defiance of the latter, still to carry on her trade, and supply herself with the means of prolonging the contest through the intervention of neutrals, would prove highly injurious to this country, and deprive us during periods of war of the legitimate advantages resulting from our maritime superiority. On this question, therefore, the utmost accordance existed between the members of the former and of the subsisting government; and we learn from the subjoined minute found amongst the Sidmouth papers, which the King addressed to Mr. Dundas on returning to him the drafts of orders for hostile proceedings against the confederated powers, that his Majesty's sentiments were to the same effect: —

"Queen's House, Jan. 15th, 1801.

"The present situation of this kingdom with the northern powers requires every degree of exertion. I therefore most fully approve of the drafts Mr. Secretary Dundas has proposed to the Admiralty, to the Commander-in-Chief in the Leeward Islands, and to the Governor General in India. There is no question that has occurred in the present war on which my mind is more fixed than on the one now depending with the northern courts. I have long wished to bring it to an issue, and have not admired the constant attempt for above twenty years to avoid it, which has only, on the present occasion, brought it forward with more force; but if properly

withstood we must get the better, and truly, if we do not, the boasted power of Great Britain, as a maritime state, is entirely delusive. If this will not rouse men, we are fallen low indeed.

"GEORGE R."

Thus encouraged and supported, Mr. Addington and his colleagues applied their utmost energies to the equipment of the expedition under Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson, and Admiral Graves, which their predecessors had been preparing in Yarmouth Roads. That Mr. Addington did not originate the expedition would almost have appeared evident from the fact, that his heroic friend, Lord Nelson, was not appointed to command it. This inference is derived from Mr. Addington's admiration of that extraordinary man, as well as from "the respect and affectionate attachment" always expressed by the latter in his correspondence, which commenced about this period, and in the first letter of which, written on the 2d February, 1801, *whilst Mr. Addington was still only Speaker*, he alluded to a conversation with General Simcoe respecting the fortifications of Copenhagen, and added, that it was a subject upon which he could not "then enter fully with the General, not feeling himself at liberty to say *he was likely to be employed.*" This extract of itself shows that Mr. Addington was not responsible for the subordinate position in that enterprise of the man who was so eminently fitted to conduct it, and who detailed its progress to the Prime Minister in several highly interesting letters, strongly indicative of his confidence and regard. As these, however, will be found in their proper places in "The Nelson Dispatches and

Letters," no further allusion will be made to them here. It is easy to conjecture that the existence of such a good understanding as this between the responsible adviser of a great enterprise and the instrument of its execution increased the probability of eventual success; nor can it be doubted that in the various councils which were held during the progress of the undertaking Nelson enunciated his opinions with increased effect, from his confidence in the support, if merited, of the government to which he was accountable.

In a case, however, of such delicacy and importance, it was essential that negotiation should precede coercion. Although, therefore, in order to give weight to the efforts of diplomacy, the expedition was hurried forth from Yarmouth as early as the 12th of March, before even the Baltic was accessible, force was not to be resorted to until conciliatory measures had failed. Hence it became necessary to send a confidential negotiator, armed with full authority, to arrange, if possible, these momentous differences; and the duty of selecting a person competent to this highly responsible and difficult office devolved on Mr. Addington, who accordingly offered the appointment to Mr. Vansittart, now Lord Bexley, by whom it was accepted. His Lordship, in reply to a letter of inquiry on the subject, has recently, in the most obliging manner, communicated several particulars relating to this mission, and to his original appointment to it; and as these cannot fail to be regarded as both interesting and authentic, the author eagerly affords himself the gratification of introducing them in this place.

Extract from a Letter from Lord Bexley to the Dean of Norwich, dated July 11th, 1845.

"Your first question respecting my mission to the North I fear I can hardly answer without entering into more detail than I could wish; and even recounting the circumstances under which I originally came into office. * * * It was the practice at the end of the last century for the Lord Chancellor, as well as the Speaker of the House of Commons, to hold Saturday evening parties, misnamed levees, which members of the bar, as well as peers, were expected to attend. At one of these, at the end of January, 1801, I was present, and perceived by the countenances and manner of the persons assembled that something extraordinary had happened. Lord Loughborough, then chancellor, occupied Baltimore House, the corner of Guilford Street, and what is now Russell Square. After some time Mr. Perceval took me aside and said, 'You seem not to be aware of what has happened, and I wish you would let me take you home to Lincoln's Inn in my carriage.' As soon as we were in the carriage together, he said, 'Mr. Pitt has resigned, and the King has sent for the Speaker, who is to be prime minister, and who will send for you to-morrow morning. I am authorised by Mr. Pitt to tell his friends that he wishes as many of them as think with the King on the Catholic question to accept office under the new administration, and I hope you will have no difficulty in doing so.' I answered, that I thought the circumstances of the country were so critical, that every man who could make himself useful ought to accept any situation, however difficult or disagreeable.

That I deeply lamented what had taken place, and apprehended the worst consequences from it; but that the greater our danger, the more necessity there was for exertion. On my arrival at my chambers, I found a note from Mr. Addington, desiring to see me at eight the next morning, when I attended him accordingly. He told me I was the first person he had spoken with on the subject of appointments, and that he wished me to take the office of one of the Secretaries of the Treasury. I answered him nearly in the terms that I had used to Mr. Perceval the night before, and retired after a very short conversation. I am not sure that I saw him again in the course of that week, but a day or two after its close, I received a note one evening desiring me to meet him immediately at Lord Hawkesbury's, who was appointed to the office of Secretary for the Foreign Department. When we met, Lord Hawkesbury told me that the government had occasion to send a confidential minister to Denmark, and that Mr. Addington had mentioned me as suited to that service. He said that the government had received a secret communication from Prince Charles of Hesse, intimating that the Danish government might be detached from the Northern coalition formed under the Emperor Paul, if a confidential person with full powers and conciliatory instructions were sent to it. This communication from a brother-in-law of the King of Denmark appeared to the government to be so important, that they wished to avail themselves of it as speedily as possible, and with the greatest secrecy. I answered that I should be ready to set out as soon as my instructions could be prepared; and the next morning

I met Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Addington, with Lord Grenville (who, as well as Mr. Pitt, still retained his office), at the Foreign Office. They explained to me the nature of the instructions I was to receive, which were, that I was to proceed as soon as possible to Sleswick, of which province Prince Charles was governor, and after communicating with him, to proceed to Copenhagen. I asked leave to propose to Dr. Beeke to accompany me as secretary, and four days afterwards we proceeded together to Harwich, and embarked immediately on board the packet for Hamburgh. She was a miserable little vessel, and we had a very rough and disagreeable passage of above a week to Cuxhaven, at the mouth of the Elbe, which we found enclosed with ice, by which a Swedish vessel had been cut in two the day before our arrival. We had an unpleasant scramble over the ice to get to the shore at Cuxhaven. When we reached Hamburgh, Dr. Beeke was taken ill, which detained us for three days, when we proceeded to Sleswick. I there found Prince Charles, who received us most cordially, but said he feared my mission would be in vain, as the French influence, combined with the fear of the Emperor Paul, was predominant at Copenhagen. On my arrival at that capital, I found that Sir William Drummond, the resident minister, and Mr. Talbot, the British minister at Stockholm, who had been ordered away by the Swedish government, had held no communication for some time with that of the Danes, who refused to receive me as a minister unless I would undertake for the unconditional restitution of the Danish ships detained under embargo in England, as a preliminary to all negotiation. This un-

friendly reception was (in part at least) attributable to the King's second illness, which had taken place immediately after I left London, and which I first heard at Sleswick from the Prince of Hesse. This news had reached Copenhagen before my arrival there, and greatly increased the influence of the French party, and confirmed the Danish court in their resolution not to receive my mission, except on terms derogatory to the honour of England. This, of course, prevented any intercourse between us until the arrival of the Blanche frigate, Captain Hammond; who announced the immediate approach of the British fleet under Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson; and brought instructions to me, as well as to Sir W. Drummond, to present a letter containing the ultimatum of the British court, and in case of non-compliance or delay, to demand our passports, and embark immediately on board the fleet. The Danes, refusing the ultimatum, Sir William Drummond and I proceeded by land to Elsinore, where the Blanche waited for us, on board which ship we embarked, together with the British consul, and such other British subjects as chose to return to England. We joined the fleet on the same day off the Koll point, on the coast of Sweden, and Dr. Beeke went on board the Admiral's (Sir Hyde Parker's) ship, to communicate such observations as we were able to make at Copenhagen, and to arrange our return to England. Sir Hyde assigned us the Kite brig of eighteen guns, which had sprung its bowsprit. The next morning I received a message from the Admiral requesting to see me, and I accordingly went on board his ship, and had a long conference with him and Lord Nelson,

and a very interesting conversation with the latter in the stern gallery, while Sir Hyde Parker was writing the letters of which I was to take charge. We were inconveniently crowded in the Kite, and had a contrary wind, which occasioned us to be nearly a week on the passage to Leith, which was the first British port we could make, and from whence I came to town with the despatches, leaving Dr. Beeke, who was again indisposed, at Edinburgh. I was then appointed Secretary of the Treasury with Hiley Addington, on George Rose's and Charles Long's going out of office upon Mr. Pitt's actual resignation. I have omitted to mention, at the proper place, that though I never saw Mr. Pitt on my mission to Denmark, I had reason to know at the time that he perfectly approved of it."

It would have been an interruption to the above interesting narrative to have given some explanations derived from the correspondence, which will now be presented to the reader. The first letter is that which Mr. Vansittart addressed to the Minister on his arrival at Hamburgh.

"My dear Sir,' Hamburgh, Feb. 27th, 1801.

"The excessive badness of the roads in the Hanoverian territory rendered it impossible for us to reach this place before Wednesday. As yet I have no means of forming any judgment respecting the probable event of our journey; but I think it evident that it must be principally decided by the King of Prussia. If he is seeking a pretence for a rupture in order to possess himself of the electorate of Hanover, it cannot be expected that either Denmark or Sweden will venture to come to an agreement with us, unless under the immediate terror of our fleet, which may give them at least the appearance of yielding to necessity. Under so great an

uncertainty I at least think it may be very important for the British government to have a confidential agent at Copenhagen at the time the fleet appears in the Sound. If any thing can be done sooner, it will be beyond my expectation; but I think that moment will probably be decisive if rightly improved.

"Whatever may be the event of our attempt abroad, I am sure that, with a view to satisfying the minds of men at home, the measure was judicious. However popular any claims which appear connected with our naval greatness may be in England, yet an attempt to avert an extension of the war must meet with general approbation. * * * We propose to set off to-morrow for Sleswick, Prince Charles of Hesse now residing at his castle of Gottorp near that city. From hence we shall travel in good carriages instead of our open waggons, in which we suffered a good deal from cold.

"Believe me, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

"N. VANSITTART."

The next document from which extracts will be made, is a letter which Dr. Beeke, Mr. Vansittart's private secretary, addressed to Mr. Addington from Hamburgh, on the 28th of February, the day on which the embassy left that city for Sleswick.

After mentioning that Mr. Vansittart had waited one day for the arrival of the mail from England which had just brought his "supplementary instructions, and that they should now immediately proceed on their journey," he alluded to the new situation in which the question of the northern alliance appeared now to be placed by the unexpectedly rude language, amounting in some parts to menaces, contained in Count Haugwitz's note.* "Possibly one of its objects may

* The Doctor here alludes to a note transmitted on the 12th of February by the Prussian minister, Count Haugwitz, to Lord Carysfort, the English ambassador at Berlin, a translation of which is given in the "Annual Register" for 1801, p. 239.; and certainly that document, from the coarseness, the selfishness, and the tone of

have been to prevent an immediate accommodation with Denmark and Sweden; and, under such circumstances, the business seems likely to be procrastinated till the appearance of our fleet before Copenhagen presents a danger more imminent than the resentment of Prussia. The sensation occasioned by the Prussian note in this place is very great; and especially on account of the coarse language used in it. I understand that, in the German publication of this note, the words used instead of '*si fausse*' go far beyond a literal translation, and amount to the lie direct. The universal expectation here is, that the Prussian troops will enter the Hanoverian territory and the town of Hamburgh, the instant that any pretext, however flimsy, can be obtained for such aggression. * * * The more I think on that note, the more I am persuaded that the cupidity of the court of Prussia is excited: if it had no other motive than the removal of the embargo, the language might have been strong, but it would not have been provoking. * * * I understand the opinion which generally prevails in Denmark is, that England will not persist in her opposition to the neutrality; and that, somehow or other, the contest will terminate without actual hostilities."

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hostility which it displays throughout, does not appear to merit any higher encomium than he bestows upon it. It must indeed be admitted, that the conduct of Prussia throughout the war, and especially on this occasion, when it was directed to the acquisition of Hanover, was narrow and ungenerous, and presents a strong contrast with that high reputation which, under the enlightened government of two successive monarchs, and their ministers, she has now most deservedly enjoyed for so many years. In no instance, probably, has the proverb, "honesty is the best policy," been better illustrated than in Prussia during the revolutionary war. Sad and numerous were her years of adversity, during which she must have rued the hour when, by courting the alliance of France, she sought her own aggrandisement at the expense of those powers, in conjunction with whom she had commenced the war, and to whose co-operation she was indebted for her deliverance at its conclusion.

The next letter, dated March 5th, was written by Mr. Vansittart himself from Prince Charles's castle, Gottorp, near Sleswick; in which, after describing his rough journey and hospitable reception, and referring for particulars to his official letter, he mentioned, in the following words, a few collateral circumstances which he did not think necessary to insert in that communication: —

"The Prince appeared deeply affected with the news of the King's indisposition; and, indeed, as it was unknown to me before he mentioned it, I was myself greatly shocked. He appeared to value himself on his connexion with England, and to have the highest respect for the nation in general, and the character of his Majesty in particular. He described the Prince Royal (of Denmark) as actuated by the same sentiments. * * * He appeared to think the Danes much more engaged in this dispute as a point of honour, than from any material importance in the question of neutral navigation in itself; but he seemed to think his own influence had been injured by espousing too warmly the cause of England; and therefore it is possible that some leading members of the Danish government may entertain a different opinion. He was persuaded (which I find is very general on the Continent) that the late change in administration was nothing more than a concerted plan to bring about a peace; and spoke with high admiration of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville. You may be sure I did justice to your sentiments and my own with regard to those distinguished characters. * * * As I am sure Prince Charles will be an active and useful partisan, I propose to continue a correspondence with him while I remain abroad.

"Believe me, &c. &c. N. VANSITTART."

The succeeding letter was written by the learned and intelligent private secretary, and is dated Copenhagen, March 15th. Dr. Becke begins by confirming

his previously expressed apprehensions respecting the hostile intentions of Prussia, and states that her

"Private interference for some months past, in urging on the measures of the armed neutrality, had contributed to frustrate the object of Mr. Vansittart's conciliatory mission. He proceeds to observe, that the only remaining hope of an accommodation rested on the effect which may be produced when the northern powers felt the force of the British navy, and on the discontent which the previous rejection of pacific overtures would occasion amongst them. He then remarks, that the defensive preparations at Copenhagen were more considerable than probably had been apprehended in England; and dwells very strongly on the necessity of England's maintaining such a decided superiority in the Baltic, as would not only enable her to incur some loss in the attack of Copenhagen without materially interfering with the operations against other powers, but would also admit of detachments being spared from the principal force, in order to bring the war to a speedy and honourable termination." He next observes, that the "difficulties of a war in the Baltic were increasing, and the defences of Copenhagen hourly becoming more formidable; whilst a merely defensive posture was neither adapted to the feelings of the British nation, nor to the existing posture of affairs; from all which considerations he argues the importance of large and early reinforcements. He next remarks, that as Prussia would doubtless immediately prosecute her designs against his Majesty's electoral territories, it was well deserving of consideration whether measures might not be adopted to preserve for his Majesty's service his Hanoverian troops—one of the finest and most faithful armies in Europe—which would otherwise be compelled, most unwillingly, to incorporate itself with that of Prussia. He concludes with stating that both Mr. Drummond and Mr. Talbot had from the beginning been well informed of the progress of the northern confederacy, and especially of the dispositions of Prussia; which latter, most unfortunately, did not appear to have been so obvious at Berlin as at Copenhagen."

The next letter, written on the following day, March 15th, by Mr. Vansittart himself, announced to the British minister the unsuccessful result of this laudable attempt to effect an amicable adjustment:—

"My dear Sir, Copenhagen, March 15th.

"The insecurity of the port in this country is such, that I have not thought it proper to risk a letter addressed to you, or which contained any kind of confidential communication; and it would have been a very improper waste of your time to have troubled you with such letters as could have been safely sent. Nor had I, till yesterday, any intelligence to communicate which could lead to a satisfactory conclusion as to the success of our mission. Unfortunately, the interview between Count Bernstorff and Drummond and myself, yesterday, was but too decisive, and proved this cabinet to be at present entirely under Prussian influence. Nothing remains but to strike a speedy and severe blow; and on that subject Beeke has written our sentiments fully to you. I am very sorry that the necessity of sending off our despatch as soon as possible obliges me again to refer you to my letter to Lord Hawkesbury. Having never been admitted in an official character, I have not thought it necessary to write any public despatch; but Drummond has written a very clear, and I think forcible, account of our reception. In consequence of this rejection of our overtures, I propose to set off for England as soon as the resolution of the Danish government has been officially notified to me. Believe me, dear Sir,

"Very sincerely yours, N. VANSITTART."

The conclusion of the last act in this negotiation was announced, on the 21st of March, by Dr. Beeke, who stated,

"At Mr. Vansittart's request, that he," Mr. Vansittart, "would leave Copenhagen at three o'clock on that same day to join Sir Hyde Parker at Elsinore; and that Mr. Drummond,

Mr. Talbot, and himself would follow in about two hours. The system of defence in that city," he added, "was as yet incomplete; in another fortnight it might have become exceedingly strong. The attack would very soon take place, and, he had the best reason to hope, would be irresistible. He was so much pressed for time, that he could only add his sincere congratulations on his Majesty's recovery, and on the spirit and the expedition of the naval equipment, which would probably effect more at that time than twice the force at the end of three weeks."

Thus terminated the generous endeavour to avert the evils of war with which Mr. Addington commenced his administration. Desirous, however, as he was of peace, with such diligence did he urge the preparations for war which his predecessor had commenced, that the expedition, consisting of fifty-four vessels of all classes, sailed from Yarmouth Roads on the 12th of March, and, as we have seen, reached the Cattegat on the 18th—the earliest period at which operations within the Baltic could be effectively carried on. On the 2d of April, it was proved, by the British fleet, that the sword, when wielded by such a hand as Nelson's, was a more effective negotiator than the pen. An interesting narrative of the events immediately subsequent to the contest, which Nelson himself addressed to Mr. Addington, will be found in the fourth volume of the "Despatches and Letters." *

* Whoever refers to the letter of the 4th of April in that collection will find that the following encomium which Mr. Addington bestowed upon it, on moving the thanks of the House of Commons to the victors, on the 16th of April, was strictly just:—"I am not at liberty to detail the particulars as I have received them from my noble friend (Lord Nelson), stating what passed on that occasion; but I can assure the House that he displayed the qualities of

The following letter, in which Lord Sidmouth congratulated his heroic friend on these glorious events, has been obligingly communicated by the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker: —

"My dear Lord, Downing Street, April 20th, 1801.

"You will have heard from Lord St. Vincent how entirely the whole and every part of your Lordship's conduct is approved of by the King, and you must have been informed from various quarters of the impression it has made upon parliament and the public. It remains for me only to express the sentiments of admiration and of complete satisfaction, with which I contemplate what has passed, under your Lordship's auspices, in the Baltic and at Copenhagen. The transactions in which you had so distinguished a share, and of which indeed you were the life and soul, joined to the late event at Petersburgh, will, I trust, lead to an honourable accommodation with the northern powers; but whilst we hope and expect the best, we must be prepared for the worst; and I am sure that the minds of the people of this country will be at ease whilst your Lordship continues in the Baltic. I must add that you have gratified and obliged me by your private communications, which I beg you to repeat as frequently as may be consistent with your avocations and convenience. My best wishes on all accounts ever attend you. Believe me to be, with true attachment, my dear Lord, your sincere friend and faithful servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

Whilst these grand events were in progress, a final and fruitless attempt to effect an arrangement, by seeking an interview with Mr. Addington, was made by the respected Danish envoy extraordinary, in London, Count Wedel Jarlsberg, in the following note: —

an able statesman as eminently as he had previously done those of a gallant and victorious naval officer." — *Parl. Register*, vol. lx. p. 96.

"Sir, Wimpole Street, 1st April, 1801.

"The present critical moment will, I hope, excuse intruding myself on your Excellency's time. Our countries are exposed to serious calamities, which both nations regret, as contrary to their wishes and also to their dearest interests. Your personal sentiments upon this subject are not doubtful to me; and I trust, Sir, that after eleven years' residence in this country I shall not in vain call on your Excellency's confidence. Under this persuasion I desire a conference at your most convenient hour; and I have, meanwhile, the honour of subscribing me, with due respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"COUNT WEDEL JARLSBERG.

"To his Excellency Mr. Addington."

In its principal object, it need scarcely be observed, this conference failed; since, at the very moment it was holding, the thunder of the British artillery was sounding the death-knell of the brave capital of Denmark. That it contributed to impress the Danish envoy with highly favourable sentiments of the British minister, and, consequently, was not altogether useless, is evidenced by the following note: —

[Private.]

"Sir, Friday evening, April 3d.

"By this day's mail I have only received from Copenhagen the following few lines, but they deserve your Excellency's attention: —

"'L'Escadre Anglaise sortie de Yarmouth croise depuis avant-hier à l'entrée du Sond. Nous ignorons ses intentions. *Les propositions conciliatoires* dont on a parlé à *votre Excellence ne nous sont pas parvenues.* Si le gouvernement Britannique juge de son intérêt de nous attaquer, nous nous défendrons tant que les moyens nous en restent, et si la Providence veut que nous succombions, l'Europe ne nous

reprochera au moins pas d'avoir dégradé notre honneur, ou d'avoir trahi nos devoirs envers nos alliés.'

"Such, Sir, is the lamentable situation of Great Britain's old ally and friend; — such are the sentiments of a court who never in the hour of danger will forsake her duty — never sacrifice her honour, dearer than her existence. It was perhaps decreed by Providence that Denmark should be put to such a trial, for to awake the attention of a nation which always did justice to firmness and virtue. But, being in the power of man to stop the extent of calamities, and to prevent the spilling of innocent blood, I trust to God it may be done! My hopes are fixed, Sir, on your valuable sentiments. Since many years my respect for your person was unbounded; but the conversation which this critical moment has procured me with your Excellency has left an impression on my heart and feelings which always will remain.

"Be, Sir, the instrument which God has chosen for the restoration of peace, and posterity will, in future ages, bless your memory.

"You will excuse, Sir, the frankness of my style in favour of the confidence you have inspired me; and I desire you to accept the assurance of the most respectful consideration with which I have the honour, &c. &c.

"COUNT WEDEL JARLSBERG."

The last note from this faithful advocate of his country's best interests is dated April the 9th (the very day on which the armistice was signed at Copenhagen), and simply states, that he had "just received orders to quit this country, if no change should take place in the violent measures adopted against Denmark; but, as possibly there may still be some hope for accommodation, he should with joy have the honour of waiting on Mr. Addington, happy if extremities might yet be avoided." As intelligence of the battle and consequent armistice reached reached London on

the 14th of April, the Count was spared the voyage to Denmark. He appears, on this occasion, to have represented his country honestly and wisely; and, foreseeing that both the first fury and chief losses of the war would fall to her share, to have done all in his power, without compromising her honour, to avert hostilities. At a period when it might have been said, almost without a metaphor, that the diplomacy of Europe was carried on in characters of blood, it is gratifying to find the representatives of two great nations privately meeting to avert, if possible, the calamity of war; and, although Denmark was at that time so much influenced by terror of Russia, and so entangled in the meshes of wily Prussia, as to render collision inevitable, it is not improbable that the opinion which Mr. Addington was now enabled to form of the character of the Danes may have predisposed him to the strenuous assertion of their claims in 1808.

The despatches conveying the important intelligence from Copenhagen were published on the 15th of April; and on the following day Mr. Addington moved the thanks of the House of Commons to those to whom the country was indebted for that glorious achievement.

"The plan," he observed, in his speech on that occasion, "which had now been so successfully executed, had been devised by those who were in his Majesty's councils at an early period of the year, and had been adopted and carried out by those who were now the servants of the crown." After describing the attack, and warmly eulogising all those who were engaged in it, he next bestowed especial commendations upon Lord Nelson, for having, in the hour of victory, acted up to what he knew to be the anxious wish of his

Majesty's government, "by renewing to the Crown Prince those pacific offers, to the repeated rejection of which all the disasters which might befall Copenhagen were to be attributed." He then paid a merited compliment to the "brave and generous people to whom we had been unfortunately opposed;" and concluded by observing, "that as the firmness of the government and the country would have remained unshaken if, instead of complete success, they had met disaster, so should they be moderate in the hour of triumph. If, therefore, their success (supposing that to be possible) had been tenfold greater than it was, such success would not have diminished the sincere disposition on our part to accomplish the main object of the war — that of obtaining peace on safe and honourable terms."

These judicious observations contributed probably to accelerate the satisfactory arrangement of the whole question, which was soon afterwards effected. The discharges of Nelson's artillery struck down the northern confederacy, already tottering from the death of the Czar, its acknowledged head. Never, probably, did any political combination terminate more unfavourably for its promoters than did the convention into which Russia, Denmark, and Sweden (Prussia afterwards acceding) entered on the 16th of December, 1800, for the purpose of extracting from the supposed necessities of Great Britain her assent to the introduction, amongst maritime powers, of a new system of international law, most injurious to her own interests, and most favourable to those of France. The whole proceeding appears to have been chiefly instigated by Prussia; which power, whilst Denmark was bearing the brunt of the contest, by the occupation of Hanover on the 30th of March insidiously possessed herself of the object which had tempted her into

such devious and discreditable courses. Indeed, the fate of the "armed neutrality," after the assassination of Paul, who fell a victim to his adherence to it, and the decisive arguments directed against it by Nelson, did not long remain in the balance. The state of the allied powers, especially that of Denmark, shortly after those two events, is shown, in a striking manner, in the following extracts from a document addressed to Mr. Addington by some one, probably a Danish subject, whose name, indeed, as also that of his correspondent, does not appear, but whose information Mr. Addington must have considered of some consequence, as he preserved the communication amongst his more important papers:—

"Right Honourable Sir,

"J. N. thinks that the following translation of a letter from Copenhagen is the echo of the people's voice throughout the kingdom of Denmark, and *as such* has the honour of addressing it to you:—

"'Copenhagen, May 10th, 1801.

"'The storm which has been long gathering here and menacing England, is subsiding gradually into a calm. We alone, poor Danes, have played a transient though a conspicuous part in the political tragedy: the other three powers were merely spectators. Russia, to be sure, gave a considerable impulse to the league, by laying an embargo on all British ships in her ports; but it may be said emphatically that had the Emperor Paul lived longer, the Russian government would have had to encounter numberless difficulties in following up that strong measure. Although letters from Petersburg state unequivocally that the autocrat would have been compelled to relinquish his hostile principles against England by the open rebellion of two hundred thousand of his subjects!

"'No nation can suffer so much as our own from a stagnation of commerce, which is the sole source of our prosperity.

We have sacrificed much in support of the armed neutrality, but no benefit can arise to it from our exertions. Our endeavours were all unavailing against so formidable, so valiant a foe. Sweden has not one tenth of the ships we have in the British ports: she carries on no commerce, as we do, with India; she had no islands worth losing; she has not twenty thousand of her sailors in the pay of England.

"'Sweden, if called upon to enumerate her real efforts, will not have many to quote. She, however, pronounces on our conduct with unnecessary severity. Whilst, however, the armistice (which does not call the blush of disgrace into our cheeks) is the subject of this neighbour's bitter observations, we can say with truth that she contributed not a little to our misfortunes, by preventing the march of our seamen through some part of her territory, on their return for the defence of the capital, under the pretext that such a measure was incompatible with our convention of the 9th of April.

"'It was in unison with the will of Prussia that we took possession of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and now we hear that our troops are on the eve of evacuating those cities, and that the great rivers of the North are again open to the English. These are the acts of the King of Prussia, and are additional proofs that the confederacy did not possess the stamina of durability.

"'We are told, however, that Alexander continues attached to the maritime principles, in support of which his father brought about the coalition of the North; but is it not far more likely that he will rather aim at effecting the grand purpose by gentle and conciliatory means than by an appeal to arms?'"

This translation, itself evidently the work of a foreigner, bears on its face distinctive marks of truth; and what an incoherent state of affairs does it disclose? The subsequent history of this ill-sorted coalition may be speedily told. The wise and conciliatory conduct of the new Czar having opened the way for negotia-

tion, Lord St. Helens was sent by the government on an extraordinary embassy to the court of Petersburgh; for which place his Lordship departed on the day indicated in the following note to Mr. Addington:—

"Dear Sir, Yarmouth, 10th May, 1801.

"Before I embark for St. Petersburgh, which will be immediately on closing this letter, permit me once more to bid you farewell, and to repeat my most sincere and cordial thanks for all your kindness and confidence, for which I shall most anxiously endeavour to prove myself not undeserving. * * * I leave to your discretion and kind management the conveyance to his Majesty of my personal acknowledgments and assurances of duty, together with the expression of my respect and veneration for his Majesty's person, and of the grateful sense I shall ever entertain of the repeated marks I have received of his Majesty's goodness and gracious condescension.

"I remain, with the sincerest respect and attachment, dear Sir, yours, &c. &c.

"ST. HELENS."

This letter was submitted to the King, as appears by the following communication from

His Majesty George III. to Mr. Addington.

"Kew, 12th May, 1801.

"The King most cordially thanks the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the communication of the very affectionate letter of Lord St. Helens; for it has given most sincere satisfaction. His Majesty desires this may be made known to him, and that the King feels most sensibly having made a great sacrifice to public duty in having consented that Lord St. Helens should absent himself from him by his mission to Russia; but the King is thoroughly convinced that the temper and manners of Lord St. Helens particularly suit the relative situation of the two countries; and as the King relies on every thing being settled to the mutual advantage of both

countries, he shall feel much personally gratified in rewarding Lord St. Helens, on the completion of the business, by placing him in the British House of Peers.

"GEORGE R."

The above paper is marked "copy," the original letter having been presented to Lord St. Helens, who, in acknowledging on the fifteenth of August the fulfilment of the above gracious promise, expressed himself in the following terms:—"You will easily suppose that I shall most carefully preserve the paper in his Majesty's handwriting that you have had the goodness to send me; and which I really consider as a second title of honour of no less value than the peerage, which his Majesty has so graciously conferred upon me." His Lordship then stated a circumstance which represents in a striking manner the honourable and conciliatory conduct of Russia towards England, and augments the contempt which it is impossible not to feel for the selfish policy of the Prussian minister.

"You will have learnt," Lord St. Helens proceeds, "from my late letters, as well as from those of Lord Carysfort, that this court has fully made known to that of Berlin its decided resolution to obtain the final restitution of Hanover; and there is the greatest reason to presume that these instances on the part of Russia have materially contributed to produce the favourable change which has lately taken place in the language of the Prussian ministers with respect to that electorate. Though it might, perhaps, be wished that the Emperor should take such further steps as might insure the immediate accomplishment of that object, I do not know whether, impartially speaking, this can reasonably be expected at the present moment. * * * With regard to the dispositions of this court towards England, I can safely assure you that the personal and political sentiments both of the Emperor and his minister are as favourable and friendly as

we can desire, and that they have also very much at heart the formation of such a system of alliance between his Majesty, Russia, and one or both of the great German powers, as may oppose a competent barrier to the power and mischievous designs of France. And I am even strongly inclined to think that the establishment of this system is the ultimate object of all the political measures which this court are now forming; not excepting even their actual negotiations with the French government. * * * * *

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"ST. HELENS."

"Lord St. Helens' embassy was eminently successful. Soon after his arrival at St. Petersburgh, he signed a treaty as glorious to England, as it was confirmatory of the correctness of the view she had taken of the law of nations in this great question." * Bonaparte, who in vain despatched Gen. Duroc to prevent, if possible, its execution, was indignant at the terms of it, which constituted the best compliment he could pay to those by whose counsels and instructions it was framed. This convention, which was signed on the 17th of June, 1801, placed the right of searching vessels belonging to the subjects of either of the contracting powers, when accompanied by one of their own ships of war, on its true footing. It confined the exercise of it only to the ships of war of the belligerent party; it limited the effects on board neutral vessels which were liable to seizure to contraband of war, and to enemy's property; it defined what constituted an actual blockade; it specified what articles were to be considered contraband of war; and made all such other provisions as were best calculated to divest the

* Alison's History of Europe, vol. iv. p. 534.

execution of this delicate portion of international law of its most irritating circumstances. The convention was acceded to by Denmark on the 23d of October, 1801, and by Sweden on the 30th of March, 1802, an armistice to the same effect as the treaty prevailing in the interim; and in confident anticipation of the latter event, England removed the embargo on Russian, Swedish, and Danish vessels, on the 4th of June, 1801: Denmark withdrew her troops from Hamburgh on the 20th of May; and on the 14th of June, Prussia, to the delight of all admirers of national honour and independence, was obliged to relinquish her ill-acquired possession of the Hanoverian territory.*

* The convention concluded on the 5th of June, 1801, with Russia, and afterwards with Denmark and Sweden, for the regulation of neutral rights, was considered highly creditable to the negotiator, and consequently equally so to the government by which he was employed. All the objects with regard to neutral rights, which at that time we sought to establish in the north of Europe, were obtained by those conventions. It cannot, however, be said that the principles then laid down have settled the question of neutral rights in a permanent manner, or that the regulations then agreed to still constitute a portion of the maritime law of nations. The convention is yet in force with Denmark, having been implicitly renewed by the treaty of 1814; but it has not been renewed since the termination of the war either with Russia or Sweden; and therefore although we, of course, still maintain the principles of the convention, and may suppose that Russia, Sweden, and other countries acquiesce in them, we have no security for such acquiescence.

CHAPTER XIII.

1801.

The British Expedition to Egypt — Letters on the Subject — Success of the Expedition. Mr. Addington to Lady Abercromby — His Speech in moving Thanks — His financial Proceedings. Extracts from Mr. Abbot's Diary. Letters from Lord Eldon, Sir R. Hill, Duke of Portland, and Mr. Dundas. Letters from the King — Progress of his Majesty's Recovery. His Majesty presents the Lodge in Richmond Park to Mr. Addington, and meets him there. Changes in Administration. Lord Pelham. King's Letters on the Subject. Parliamentary Proceedings. Rev. John Horne Tooke. Non-residence of Clergy Act. Renewed Suspension of Habeas Corpus (Ireland). Mr. Addington's Twenty-four Resolutions respecting Finance. Prorogation of Parliament.

ANOTHER important undertaking, which the new ministers inherited from their predecessors, was the expedition to Egypt. There existed, however, at the period of Mr. Pitt's resignation, an essential difference between the two armaments; that destined for the North being only in course of preparation; whilst the one under Sir Ralph Abercromby had already sailed from Malta, and was far beyond the reach of communication or recall, before the commencement of its operations. In the former case, therefore, a large proportion of the responsibility and credit belonging both to the equipment and conduct of the expedition was justly due to Mr. Addington's

administration; in the latter it could claim no share in the merit which attached to the earlier operations of our army in Egypt. Under these circumstances, it is not necessary to describe with minuteness in this work the progress of the armament, which reached Marmorice, a Turkish port in the Levant, early in February, sailed from thence on the 22d of the same month, and disembarked, 17,000 strong, near Alexandria, on the 8th of March, six days prior to Mr. Addington's receiving the seals of office. Instead, therefore, of tracing the glorious achievements of the British soldiers, and dilating on those vast national resources, and that striking accuracy of combination, by which two armies, one arriving by sea from the distant North, and the other crossing the deserts from the remotest East, were enabled to meet at the foot of the pyramids, the author will content himself with presenting to his readers the substance of the correspondence which he finds on the subject. Of this, the larger portion proceeded from Mr. Dundas, who, in one of the letters, attributed to himself a principal share in the original conception of the undertaking, and certainly manifested in the whole of them a parent's anxiety for its success. The first quotation will be from a letter which he addressed to Mr. Addington on the 2d of April, immediately after intelligence of the safe arrival of the fleet and convoy on the coast of Egypt had been received: — "I have lost many nights of sleep in anxiety respecting the expedition to Egypt, and it is therefore singular, that when the chief part of that anxiety is removed by the news of yesterday, the same subject should from gaiety of heart keep me more awake than it has ever done

before." Intelligence of the victory over the French under the walls of Alexandria on the 21st of March, and of the death of General Abercromby, reached Mr. Addington on the 14th of May, when he immediately communicated it (amongst others) to Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas. The former of these returned many thanks for his Egyptian news, which, but for the loss of poor Abercromby, he should consider as very favourable. "It seems," he added, "that we had rated Menou's force too high; but that, in military preparations, is an error on the right side." Mr. Dundas's reply expressed so much generous feeling for the gallant Abercromby, that a somewhat fuller selection will be given from it:—

"Wimbledon, 16th May, 1801.

"I thank you, my dear Sir, for your very kind letter. I am almost ashamed to own that I mourn for Sir Ralph Abercromby, but, unreasonable as it is, I find it impossible as yet to resist the effects of that affliction, which insensibly every moment forces itself upon me. Our friendship was early, and has been unremitted. Our domestic interests and feelings are twined together. I had flattered myself that after closing our political and military service, we might for some years have lived in happy society together, surrounded by our families, anticipating the happiness and growing prosperity of those who were to come after us. These dreams must now pass away, but you cannot be surprised if I find it difficult at once to banish the delusion. Neither can I disguise from you, that all those feelings of a private character are at this moment cruelly aggravated by reflections of a more public nature. When I persevered in this expedition, under many discouraging circumstances, my chief confidence rested on the thorough knowledge I had of the union of enterprise and judgment which marked the military character of the General from his first outset as a soldier. He is gone, and much perhaps still remains to be done. Combining every

circumstance, we have just grounds of confidence; but while Alexandria remains in the hands of France, it is simply impossible for my mind to enjoy its wonted tone of fortitude or composure. Unless the expedition is ultimately successful, however glorious all is that has passed, still it remains only to be recorded as barren and unproductive laurels.

"I remain, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

"HENRY DUNDAS."

It is almost needless to observe, that the apprehensions expressed in this letter proved groundless, and that no exertions were spared on the part either of the brave army in Egypt or of the authorities at home, until the final expulsion of the French from that country was effected. Mr. Dundas's next letter, dated May 20th, related to the forces from India, and manifested a confidence in Lord Wellesley's co-operation from that quarter, which, as the result proved, was not misplaced.

"I send for your perusal letters I have this moment received from Bagdad. Upon combining circumstances, I am inclined to think Lord Wellesley would receive my instructions in such time as would induce him to lay aside *his* expedition to the Mauritius, and send all the force he had collected at Ceylon to the Red Sea."

In another letter, Mr. Dundas, whilst he plainly reveals himself as the original planner of the expedition, admits that his hopes never extended beyond the capture of the three principal stations on the coast of Egypt. "If you refer," he observes, "to my original instructions, you will find that the possession of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta, was the utmost I ventured to flatter myself with the hopes of, unless the evacuation of Egypt was accomplished by their

capitulation. I still am disposed to abide by that opinion; and, indeed, I should be rather sorry if, at this moment, we should attempt more by proceeding to the interior of the country." Fortunately those who conducted the expedition both abroad and at home were more sanguine and adventurous than its original promoter; and by advancing a part of the army up the Nile to Cairo, where it was met by the troops from India, whilst the remaining portion besieged the French in Alexandria, they had the satisfaction in the course of the summer to see both divisions of the enemy surrender, on condition of being conveyed, not as prisoners, to France.* As success had heretofore been denied to the various enterprises undertaken by this expedition, intelligence of these glorious events was received in England with the most lively exultation; that especially of the action on the 21st of March, which was justly regarded as having decided the fate of Egypt, immediately called forth the approbation and sympathy of a discerning monarch and his minister. Four days only after the publication of the Gazette Extraordinary, we find the former, on the recommendation of the latter, bestowing upon General Hutchinson and the relict of the brave and lamented Abercromby, the honours mentioned in the two following notes.

George III. to Mr. Addington.

"Kew, 19th May, 1801.

"The King cannot but favourably receive *his* Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposal of a barony for Lady Aber-

* 13,672 soldiers, under General Belliard, capitulated at Grand Cairo, June 27th, and 10,528, under Menou himself, at Alexandria, on the 31st August. — *Alison*, vol. iv. p. 583.

cromby, and a pension of 2000*l.* per annum, and the title to be Baroness Abercromby of Aboukir, and the more so as the application is made on the Queen's birthday, and the note in answer wrote in the King's library, he having returned to his own house, where he hopes to receive Mr. Addington to-morrow.

"GEORGE R."

The second note, written on the same day, is dated —

"Kew, 53 minutes past 5 P. M.

"My dear Chancellor of the Exchequer,

"I cannot bear you should have any reluctance in writing a second time when your proposal is so well grounded. I desire the vacancy in the Order of the Bath may be this evening notified to be filled up by General Hutchinson, and the ensigns of it in consequence sent this evening to Egypt.

"GEORGE R."

On the next day Mr. Addington communicated the King's intentions to Lady Abercromby.

"Madam, Downing Street, May 20th, 1801.

"I have the honour of informing your Ladyship, that in consideration of the signal merits of the late Sir Ralph Abercromby, his Majesty has been pleased to declare his gracious intention of conferring upon your Ladyship a barony of Great Britain, by the name and title of Baroness Abercromby of Aboukir, with remainder to the heirs male of Sir Ralph Abercromby. His Majesty has also sent a message this day to each House of Parliament, recommending that a pension of 2000*l.* per annum be granted and secured to your Ladyship, and in succession to Sir Ralph Abercromby's two next male heirs. Allow me, Madam, to express a hope, which I cannot forbear indulging, that your Ladyship's affliction, and that of your family, on this most trying occasion, may in some degree be soothed and mitigated by

the high sense which his Majesty has so graciously manifested of the merits of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and by the respect and veneration for his memory, which are, and ever will be, felt by the country, in whose service he honourably spent and gloriously terminated his distinguished and valuable life.

"With the greatest respect, I have the honour, &c.

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

The collection contains a private letter from Lord Keith, dated 18th June, at anchor off Alexandria, which alludes to the slowness of the British operations, and represents the French as greatly divided amongst themselves, and desirous only of a good pretext to surrender. His Lordship states that —

"General Damas was banished by Menou, and had been taken by our cruisers, and was loud in his abuse of Menou. * * * You will see," he proceeds, "that Gantheaume came on the coast a few days ago and anchored, and examined the shore, cut his cables, and stood to sea. He ordered the small transports to Alexandria, under the care of a corvette, which got in in spite of the Hector's fire. The transports are taken. Finding the French only four sail of the line and one large frigate, I divided the squadron, and sent Sir Richard Bickerton fifty leagues to the west, while I remain off the port to take both chances, if they chose to return. It is too clear we are not active. Our army are advanced within twenty miles of Cairo in twenty-eight days. The French marched it in two; yet in the end, if the fleet does not escape me, I think we cannot fail. The plague decreases, and in a few days the waters will begin to increase, which will render our communication more safe and frequent. At present I am obliged to bring fresh water from Cyprus and Caramania."

Lord Keith was probably correct in the opinion, that had the earliest successes been more vigorously followed up, the conquest might have been achieved

with greater rapidity; but when it is considered that the British General could not have been aware of the state, numbers, and means of his opponents, and that he must have equally been ignorant of the great moral effect which our three victories, especially that of the 21st, had produced upon them, it will probably be thought that the slow and sure system pursued by General Hutchinson was, after all, preferable to hastier measures. The fact, however, was, that the French made no serious resistance after the 21st of March; and so entirely was this anticipated in England, that, after the arrival of the first intelligence in May, the result was regarded as a thing which could not long be delayed, and was expected, therefore, without impatience. Here, then, the author will conclude the subject where its interest concludes, with a brief notice of Mr. Addington's speech of the 18th of May, respecting which Mr. Dundas assured him that "Wallace and Huskisson had reported, that he had been very successful in touching the proper notes to meet the tone of feelings the House were disposed to entertain respecting Egypt."

Mr. Addington observed, that his object in rising on that occasion was to move the House to render a tribute of gratitude, 1st, to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby; and, 2dly, to the brave officers and men by whom the victories before Alexandria had been obtained. In his eulogium on the merits of the great and distinguished general whose loss the country was deploring, he noticed the coincidence between his end and that of General Wolfe; the British army in both instances gaining an important victory, but losing an illustrious leader. From lamenting the dead, he next proceeded to eulogise the living; declaring, "that the Journals of the House did not record a single instance in which the heroism, discipline, and

glory of the British army had been more honourably displayed, than in this victory over the conquerors of Italy." After dilating at some length on this topic, he concluded his observations in the following manner:—"Without indulging in any unreasonable exultation over the enemy, which at all times is unmanly, we may surely, Sir, feel an honest English pride at an event so glorious to this country. There is not a man who must not feel that every foreign effort of the army adds to our domestic strength and security. Let us, however, always call to mind, that the great object of every military exertion is the attainment of an honourable and permanent peace; and let it be understood to be the fixed purpose of government and of parliament, as it ought to be of the people, not to let any victory, however gratifying, induce us to demand more of the enemy than is necessary for our security; and, on the other hand, not to allow any amount of disaster to induce us to accept of less. If such were ever to be the case, we should miserably underrate the energies and powers of the country; we should render unprofitable those victories which are its glory; we should diminish the best resources of the country, consisting, as they do, in that unconquered and unconquerable public spirit which, when wisely tempered, is the source of all that is good and great; the pledge of public worth, the guardian of private honour, and the surest preservative of the glory, prosperity, and happiness of the country."

From the two grand undertakings inherited from his predecessors, which were brought to a successful conclusion during Mr. Addington's administration, the author will now turn to various matters of general or domestic policy, which at this period engaged the Minister's attention, by virtue of his office. Of these, one of the most important was the finances of the country, of which the annual statement technically styled the Budget, having been arranged by Mr. Pitt previously to his resignation, was by him submitted

to parliament, and there adopted during the ministerial interregnum. On this subject, therefore, as on that concerning Egypt, it was simply the new Minister's duty to carry out the measures of his predecessor; and partly for this reason, but chiefly because Lord Bexley, then Mr. Vansittart, who was Secretary of the Treasury during the period, has most obligingly supplied notes of the financial arrangements of the Addington administration, which will appear in their proper places*, the author will insert but little at present on this head: it was a point, however, to which Mr. Addington paid great attention; and, as Mr. Vansittart and other competent judges considered, with much success. Several instances indeed occur, in the correspondence, of the early pains he took in equalising the pressure of the taxes, and mitigating, as far as was practicable, their severity. A case of this nature is recorded in a letter dated "Manchester, April 7th, 1801, from Lawrence Peel, Esq., chairman of a meeting of 'calico-printers, manufacturers, and others interested in that branch of trade,' conveying to the Chancellor of the Exchequer the grateful and unanimous thanks of that meeting and of the country at large, for the patient attention which he had paid to their representations against an increase of the present duty on printed goods, and also for the laborious inquiry he had bestowed on their grounds of objection, as well as for the candid communication

* These extend from 1802, — at which period, for the reason assigned above, Mr. Addington's responsibility, viewed in an historical light, actually commenced, — to that Minister's resignation in 1804.

of his sentiments when he relinquished the tax."* Another instance of the enlightened views of the Minister on such subjects is recorded in the Parliamentary Register for the 14th of May, on which day he moved for a committee to inquire respecting the duty on salt, with the intention of effecting a reduction in the price of that article. "The subject," he observed, "was one which had long occupied his attention. He considered that the true policy, in this case, was to keep the price of the article as low as possible; and in this sentiment he had the pleasure of concurring with a respectable body of gentlemen out of doors, and many members of that House." For this proposition, which was readily acceded to, he received the thanks of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. William Smith, General Gascoyne, and several other members.

The author now returns to the diary of Mr. Abbot, who has recorded, that "on the 9th of April he rode with Mr. Addington, and that they discussed a great variety of matters relative to Ireland. He then told me," Mr. Abbot proceeds, "of the King's progressive and solid re-establishment in health; and that in the beginning of the ensuing week he would hold a council for the great seal, and that I could then be sworn in of the privy council, and receive the privy seal of Ireland, and vacate my seat, so as to be re-elected by the time Lord Hardwicke reached Dublin."

* The Chancellor of the Exchequer abandoned this duty, and that on pepper, (both of which had just been proposed by Mr. Pitt, and amounted together to 232,000*l.*) in committee on the 20th of May, stating, that "he was thoroughly convinced that the House would act unwisely in retaining them." The taxes which he proposed to substitute for them were additional duties on probates of wills and on stamps.

In the expectations, however, thus raised, Mr. Abbot was destined to be disappointed; for it appears, from a series of letters written to Mr. Addington about this time by the Duke of York, reporting the King's progressive recovery, as well as from allusions to the subject in parliament, that his Majesty's bodily weakness was still a subject of uneasiness; and hence Mr. Abbot's audience was indefinitely postponed, as appears from the following entry in his diary of

"*April 15th.* Mr. Addington told me in the House that the alternative, yesterday, was, whether the King should only transfer the Great Seal from Lord Loughborough to Lord Eldon, or be requested to do several other things; and the unanimous opinion was, that his Majesty should only do one thing that day." The diary further relates that, on the 3d of May, Mr. Abbot again called on the Minister; "and that, whilst they were engaged in the discussion of Irish business, the Duke of York entered with the letters announcing the earlier defeats of the French in Egypt."

Mr. Addington now consulted the King's pleasure respecting Mr. Abbot's appointment; and his Majesty replied, on the 8th of May, "that he remembered perfectly well what had passed on the subject of Mr. Abbot, and very gladly authorised Mr. Addington to accept Lord Castlereagh's resignation as Keeper of the Signet in Ireland, and to confer that office on Mr. Abbot, who would certainly prove a very useful servant of the Crown." On the 21st of May Mr. Abbot was sworn in before his Majesty as a member of the privy council; and his diary of the same day contains the following description of the ceremonial used on the occasion: —

"*Thursday, May* 21*st.* At one went to the Queen's House, where the privy council sat; and Sir William Grant, Wallace, and myself were sworn in. We took the oaths of allegiance, kneeling, and then the privy counsellors' oath was administered to us standing; after which we kissed the King's hand, and shook hands with each privy counsellor present, beginning with the Chancellor at the King's right hand, then going behind the King's chair to the Lord President on his left, and round the rest of the table. The council were seated thus:—the King at the head of the table, with Mr. Addington opposite to him at the bottom. On his Majesty's right were the Duke of Roxburgh, the Duke of Portland, Lord St. Vincent, Lord Rosslyn; on his left were the Lord President, Lord Chatham, Lord Westmoreland—Lord Privy Seal, Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Hobart—Secretaries of State, and Lord Alvanley. After we were sworn in, the clerks of the council stood on each side of the King, and the Lord President rose and read a paper of business to be transacted, &c. &c.; and upon each article the King said aloud what his pleasure was. After the business was over, the King rose and spoke to all his council individually, going round as at the levee. He looked extremely well, stout, and upright, and joked as usual with his ministers."*

Our progress through the correspondence has now brought us to the first of a long series of undated letters, bearing the venerated superscription of Eldon. The able and instructive manner in which the piety of his grandson has caused the life and character of this great judge to be handed down to distant times leaves little to be recorded here beyond the fact that a friendship afterwards arose between his Lordship

* Notwithstanding, however, these favourable appearances, a note written this same day by Mr. Addington to Lord Eldon, appears in the life of the latter, which shows that his Majesty's health was still the occasion of much anxiety to his ministers.

and the subject of this biography, which was eventually cemented by the bond of relationship.

In this letter, which Mr. Addington has endorsed as received on the 12th of May, 1801, the Chancellor stated, "with much satisfaction, that he had that morning been honoured by his Majesty with a conversation for an hour and a quarter, the whole perfectly satisfactory." His Lordship then proceeded to express his allegiance to his new chief, and his notion of the entire confidence which members of the same cabinet ought to repose in one another, by the following just and striking remark: "All the particulars of the interview I shall think it my duty to state to you, because, upon principle, I am determined that nothing shall ever pass with me that shall not in effect pass with you."

The letter next in order — from Sir Richard Hill — is dated May 15th, and was written to thank the Minister "for what he had done the evening before relative to the salt duty, and to assure him that the reduction of that tax would rejoice the hearts of thousands amongst the poor, with whose prayers he would be blest." This truly good man concluded his letter in the following manner: — "For some time past I have had it strongly on my mind to speak to you on this very subject, wishing from my heart to see you as popular as your merits and abilities assure me that you ought to be, and will be; especially if, through the Divine blessing, you are enabled to procure a peace upon any terms short of dishonourable; and for this, I am convinced, you are labouring."

The next letter is so creditable to the writer, the Duke of Portland, the rule of whose life seems to

have been to make party feelings subservient on all occasions to the best interests of the state, that, although it relates to a subject already disposed of, it cannot, in justice, be omitted. It contains his Grace's opinion on the affairs of Egypt, which were considered in a cabinet council, held on the arrival of the despatches respecting the 21st of March:—

"Dear Sir, Saturday, May 16th, 1801.

"Although I place the greatest confidence in your exertions, and rely upon the unanimous concurrence of our colleagues in making every endeavour to rescue Egypt from the French, still I cannot satisfy myself at being absent from a meeting where such a measure is to be discussed, without stating to you, in writing, that our security is as much involved in the success of our Egyptian expedition as our fame, and our interests no less require that every nerve should be strained to bring the contest in that quarter to a speedy and successful issue. I trust, therefore, that every man that can be spared from Minorca, Gibraltar, and Malta, &c. &c., will be sent to reinforce the army in Egypt. * * * Until the fate of Egypt is decided we can have no peace: till then Bonaparte will not and cannot be expected to negotiate. With Egypt clear, and the flower of French veterans beaten by English valour and prowess, consider how a negotiation will open, and how we must stand with our own countrymen, and in the contemplation of all the courts of Europe. * * * We are entitled to hope, that a land victory on the Nile may again call into action those powers who were roused by our naval glories there. In short, the advantages which must arise from our success in Egypt are incalculable: but I am sure you are not less sensible of this than I am, and I really beg your pardon for this effusion; but my mind could not be easy till it had disburthened itself; and you are not of a temper to refuse it this relief. May God prosper your counsels, and bless them with success.

"Yours ever, PORTLAND."

The next letter in the series, dated 18th of May, bears the signature of Mr. Dundas, who, after inviting the Minister to meet the Duke of York, Mr. Pitt, and a few friends of Sir Ralph Abercromby, at dinner at his house, and announcing his own approaching departure for the north on the 28th, proceeds as follows: — "As soon as convenient to you, I wish you to give me a couple of quiet uninterrupted hours to go through with you a pretty large detail on the subject of Scotland. It will probably save both of us a great deal of trouble; and if your brother Hiley could be of the party, so much the better."

To listen for two hours to details of Scottish arrangements by the party who for many years had executed the difficult and delicate office of keeping Scotland in good humour, was a somewhat alarming requisition; no doubt, however, Mr. Addington submitted to it with a good grace. The conference appears chiefly to have related to law arrangements; those at least were the subjects of several communications which were received from Mr. Dundas in the course of that summer and autumn. Mr. Dundas, during his absence, very kindly gave the use of his house at Wimbledon to Mr. Addington, which the latter found a great accommodation from its vicinity to London.

During all this spring the King had been enjoying at Kew, with the happiest effects, that entire repose and relaxation from business which Dr. Addington twelve years before had pronounced so essential to his health. Throughout the latter half of April, and the whole of May, his Majesty's progress towards recovery, though not free from interruption, had, on the whole,

been satisfactory; insomuch that he was now enabled, without inconvenience, to undergo the fatigue of holding councils and levees. This improvement the King had the gratification of himself announcing to his Minister in the following note, dated

"Kew, May 27th, 1801.
Fifty minutes past seven A. M.

"The King with great pleasure will receive the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Addington this day at twelve; and can do it with the more satisfaction, as he has considerably gained in his health by the return of very good night's rest.

"GEORGE R."

It appears by a letter dated May 25th, from Dr. Thomas Willis to Lord Eldon, published in the life of that nobleman, that his Majesty's nights at this period were not passed so tranquilly as he himself imagined; and we learn also from the same document, that it was at Dr. Willis's suggestion that Lord Eldon wrote the letter* to which the King alluded in the following note to Mr. Addington:—

"Kew, June 1st, 1801.

"The King thinks it proper to acquaint Mr. Addington, that, in consequence of a very judicious intimation yesterday, by letter, from the Lord Chancellor, he has postponed his journey to Hampshire and Weymouth till it shall be ascertained that no message can be necessary to the houses of parliament before their rising. His Majesty trusts *his* Chancellor of the Exchequer will be at the Queen's Palace on Wednesday at one o'clock; and transmits the account of the fees for his five sons and the two foreign Knights of the Garter, which should be paid by a Treasury warrant, and that immediately prepared.

"GEORGE R."

* Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. p. 377.

As intimated in the preceding letter, his Majesty removed to the Queen's Palace, from whence, at "5 minutes past 7 A.M., June 4th," he despatched the following letter to Mr. Addington:—

"The King desires Mr. Addington will send to the Earl of Chatham this morning, that a privy council may be held here at three o'clock, for taking off the embargo from the Russian and Danish ships; which, he should hope, will not be inconvenient to his ministers, as they may make their bow to the Queen in the *entrée* room, and, by ordering their coaches to St. James's Park, shall be shown down his Majesty's private stairs, and come here without inconvenience.

"GEORGE R."

The King appears now to have entirely resumed his active habits, and careful attention to business; and, on the 12th of June, wrote to Mr. Addington, from Kew, to express his approbation of Sir Charles Grey being advanced to a barony, and of Lords Craven, Onslow, Romney, Pelham, and Grey de Wilton, being promoted to the rank of earl.

Mr. Addington had now, for above three months, been in constant personal communication with the King, as his Prime Minister, under circumstances unusually delicate and difficult; and his mingled sensibility and firmness, the zeal and judgment he displayed in his Majesty's service, and his loyal and dutiful attachment to his person, had already made a most favourable impression on the royal mind. This was declared to him in the most gratifying manner by the King in the following letter, which bears date —

"Kew, June 14th, 1801, half-past seven A.M.

"The King is highly gratified at the repeated marks of the sensibility of Mr. Addington's heart, which must greatly

add to the comfort of having placed him with so much propriety at the head of the Treasury. He trusts their mutual affection can only cease with their lives. As Mr. Addington could not fix last night when the parliament will actually close, his Majesty thinks he may trust that, with diligence, that may be either on Saturday the 27th, or, at farthest, Tuesday the 30th, in which case he may leave Kew on the 29th—the day before, when no later message to parliament can be required.

"GEORGE R."

But words alone, however friendly and encouraging, were inadequate to the expression of those warm feelings of attachment which this noble-hearted and generous Sovereign entertained for the Minister, who, he was pleased to consider, had rendered him services so valuable and important. Anxious, therefore, to confer on Mr. Addington some substantial mark of his favour, his Majesty assigned to him the occupation of the Royal Lodge in Richmond Park—a boon which was rendered peculiarly acceptable by the inconvenient distance of Woodley; and as the Lodge had long been unoccupied, and required much alteration, the King insisted on having it repaired and adapted as a family residence at his own private expense. The works were accordingly commenced, and their occasional superintendence furnished his Majesty with a pleasing and healthful occupation during his long residence at Kew: indeed a more gratifying sight cannot readily be imagined, than that of this benevolent monarch employing himself in providing for the comfort and convenience of a faithful and valued servant. The White Lodge was at that time open to the park; and the King, on one of his visits to it, took with him a person provided with a number of stakes, and himself

marked out a space of sixty acres surrounding the house, which he ordered to be enclosed for the use of Mr. Addington. The paling was already prepared for this purpose, and the operation would have speedily been carried into effect, had not Mr. Addington gratefully assured his Majesty that so large a quantity of land far exceeded what he required, or felt that he could with propriety receive, and earnestly besought permission, which was reluctantly granted, to accept only a twelfth part of the defined space. At length, when all the plans of improvement had been arranged, the King, accompanied by the Queen and Princesses, enjoyed the gratification of meeting Mr. and Mrs. Addington, and some of their children, by appointment, at the Lodge, and of himself pointing out the numerous means of comfort and happiness he had designed for them in their new abode, of which he now placed them in possession. The meeting with which Mr. Addington and his family were thus honoured occurred on the day preceding that on which the gracious letter last presented to the reader was written. Unfortunately, at the time fixed for his departure, Mr. Addington was detained in town by indispensable business; and, in consequence, their Majesties were kept waiting, for nearly an hour, in the unfurnished lodge: nothing, however, could exceed the patience with which they awaited the arrival of their expected visiters, unless it was the condescending indulgence with which they received Mr. Addington's excuses. The extreme kindness, indeed, of the King and Queen on this occasion, and the glee with which the Princesses explored the various apartments, is still remembered by the lady so favourably mentioned in

the following note, in which his Majesty appointed the meeting:—

"Kew, June 13th, 1801.

"The appearance of the morning makes the King hope the evening will be dry. He therefore trusts Mr. Addington will bring his family in his sociable to the Lodge in Richmond Park; but hopes, among the number, that the lively and engaging youngest daughter will not be omitted.

"GEORGE R."

Such were the circumstances under which Mr. Addington obtained possession of that happy retreat, where, for forty-three years, he found shelter from the tempests of political life; and where, at length, amidst feelings of mingled gratitude and sorrow—anxious to keep, yet unwilling longer to detain him—his affectionate relatives and admiring friends

"Eyed the calm sunset of his various day."

At this period, the following final arrangements in the cabinet were in contemplation:—the Duke of Portland to become Lord President of the Council, in the place of the Earl of Chatham, who was to take the office of Master General of the Ordnance; and Lord Pelham to assume the seals of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, *vice* the Duke of Portland. To these the King alluded in the following satisfactory note addressed to his Minister:—

"Kew, June 24th, 1801.

"The King will very willingly receive from Lord Arden, at the Queen's Palace, this day, the design for the new coin adapted to the union between Great Britain and Ireland; and shall be happy at learning from Mr. Addington that he has effected the proposed arrangements, which will complete

satisfactorily the present administration, of which his Majesty has every reason to be most thoroughly satisfied.

"GEORGE R."

His Majesty referred to this subject again in a note written two days afterwards, wherein he expresses "a hope that Mr. Addington will shortly have arranged what he alludes to, though the Duke of Portland, with every expression of good humour as well as attachment, seemed to think, till late in the autumn, it would be impossible to conclude the business."

It appears, from the brief extract from Mr. Abbot's diary given below*, that Mr. Addington had not lost sight of this matter. The arrangement, however, was not completed until the 30th of July; and, for the purpose of presenting in one view all that is required to be further stated on this subject, the author will here present the two remaining letters of his Majesty which bear upon it, although, in effecting this purpose, he is obliged to deviate from the order of dates. The former letter, he conceives, will be read with satisfaction, not only for the tribute paid in it to the disinterestedness and patriotism of the Duke of Portland, but also for the noble and generous sense it manifests of the high moral responsibility, the imperative demand for the utmost devotion to his duty, which the acceptance of office imposes on the conscience of every public functionary: —

King George III. to the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

"Weymouth, July 12th, 1801.

"The King is much pleased to find, by Mr. Addington's note, that every difficulty is terminated as to the presidency

* "Monday, June 22d.—At Mr. Addington's. Talked over remaining changes in the cabinet. Peace and war. Mr. Pitt's friendly and manly conduct."

of the council and the Home Secretary of State. It is not surprising that the Duke of Portland's conduct should manifest his readiness of bending his feelings to the convenience of the public service, as that seems to have been his sole view ever since his return to public office. It is but doing him justice to declare that, from rank, character, and abilities, he is the person most fitted to preside at the council board, and, from his love of doing his duty, he will render it a much [more] efficient employment than his predecessors have been inclined to, particularly in matters of trade; and will be more open to hear and see the merchants. Through the ill health both of the Earl of Liverpool and Mr. Ryder that essential branch of business now lies dormant; but a conscientious lord president will forward it himself. The King thinks, now the Duke's accepting the office of lord president is decided, that it will prevent any difficulties in future if Mr. Addington will now notify to the Lords Hobart and Pelham that the Duke of Portland has made his final determination; that therefore his Majesty thinks they should, in conjunction with Mr. Addington, arrange the division of business between the home and war departments, to prevent any ambiguity in future. The Duke of Portland certainly has a claim to the nomination of the governments vacant, and that will be vacated within a few weeks, which he mentioned to the King the last time he was at the Queen's House: they consist of four. It seems that the settling this, and the marriage in the next week of Lord Pelham, will draw on the completion of this business to the time when the council must be held here for the next prorogation, which may be held either the last days of this or the first days of the subsequent month; the first prorogation extending only to the 6th of August.

"GEORGE R."

The King's latest notice of these ministerial arrangements is contained in the following extract from a letter which his Majesty addressed to the Minister from Weymouth, on the 28th of July: —

"Mr. Addington has most exactly arranged between the two departments of secretaries of state of the home and war departments, which must prevent any future misunderstanding. The Duke of Portland and Lord Pelham arrive on Thursday morning, for the resignation and acceptance of the seals of the former department." *

It is now necessary to revert to the share which Mr. Addington took in the parliamentary proceedings of the session, which, it will be recollected, had scarcely commenced, when the King found it necessary to call him from the chair. Numerous circumstances combined to render this a peculiarly light and easy session to the new minister, and it has accordingly been styled by some one the halcyon period of his administration. Opposition was mitigated as well by the fair and honourable mode of resistance which Mr. Fox and his party ever pursued towards him, as by the obvious injustice of censuring him for measures which he did not originate. Already Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Tierney had evidently relaxed in their hostility: the former indeed became perfectly friendly, and the latter actually accepted office from him, before the dissolution of his government. At the same time Mr. Pitt was his pledged and zealous supporter; and took the lead in defending and enforcing the measures which he had himself transferred to his successors.

* The employment here by his Majesty of the term "misunderstanding," designates this as a suitable place for inserting the following extract from Mr. Milnes Gaskell's notes of Lord Sidmouth's conversations:—"There was only one division in the cabinet," he said, "during my administration, and then only one dissentient, Lord Pelham, and that on a question upon which his Lordship was personally pledged."

The satisfactory declaration respecting the principles of the new administration which Mr. Addington made on the 25th of March, and also his speeches on the Northern and Egyptian expeditions having been already noticed, the first matter of importance which remains to be mentioned here, is the line which he followed in the proceedings in parliament on occasion of the Rev. John Horne Tooke taking his seat as member for Old Sarum, on the 16th of February. This circumstance was noticed in the Commons on the 6th of March by Lord Temple, who moved, "That the registrar of the diocese of Salisbury, and the parish clerk of Brentford, should be examined by the House to prove, the former, that Mr. Horne Tooke had been admitted to the order of priest, and the latter, that he had officiated in church in that capacity." These facts were candidly admitted by Mr. Horne Tooke; but the Speaker observed, that such an admission could not be received as evidence. On the 10th of March, therefore, these witnesses were called in, and proved that Mr. Tooke had been ordained a priest in November, 1760, and had administered in that character for eleven or twelve years in the chapel of New Brentford. A committee was then appointed to examine the Journals for precedents, and to report their opinion respecting the eligibility of spiritual persons to sit in that House. These duties they performed on the 1st and 14th of April; and as their report showed that persons had in former times been declared ineligible to sit in the House of Commons because they had a voice in the House of Convocation, Lord Temple moved, on the 4th of May, "That a new writ be issued for the election of a burgess for Old Sarum

in the room of the Rev. John Horne Tooke, who, being at the time of his election in priest's orders, was, and is, incapable of sitting in that house."

This motion was opposed by Mr. Addington, who considered it advisable that the legislature should set the question at rest by a distinct enactment on the subject; and declared, therefore, his intention to introduce a bill into parliament to that effect. In reply to Mr. Addington, Messrs. Fox, Grey, Erskine, and others, warmly contended for the eligibility of clergymen to serve in parliament. Mr. Fox, in particular, argued that, from the year 1764, when they ceased to tax themselves, they again became eligible to sit in parliament, on the principle, that when the ground of their exclusion had been taken away, the exclusion itself had been taken with it. "That phantom, the Convocation," he observed, "having disappeared for ever, it was most unjust to regard it as still subsisting, merely to use it as a pretence for excluding the whole body of the clergy from sitting in that House."

The honourable gentleman then alluded to the right of voting at elections of representatives having been exercised by the clergy ever since their right of taxing themselves ceased, and argued that the right of *being elected themselves* was a necessary concomitant of the right of *electing others*. In treating of the alleged impropriety of clergymen acting as senators, Mr. Fox remarked on the inconsistency of excluding them from the House of Commons, and admitting them into the House of Lords; and asked what possible danger could result from their presence in the one assembly, which was not now experienced in the other "Until this should be answered, he should view the popular arguments on

this subject as altogether nugatory." Mr. Erskine cited the preamble of the act of 1641 (repealed in 1661) which stated that "great inconvenience had arisen from ecclesiastics sitting in parliament," and argued from it that up to that period they *had* sat in parliament, or it would have been absurd to say that their sitting there had been productive of inconvenience. Mr. Grey observed, that if priest's orders were irrevocable and indefeasible, and disqualified the party from a seat in parliament, or if it was inconsistent with the sanctity of the office to interfere in temporal legislation, these objections applied equally to both houses of parliament. It was a very strange mode, he added, of preserving the reputation of the clerical character, to force a man to continue in the profession after his opinions shall have undergone a change. "This he thought injudicious; and therefore he disapproved of the sentiments delivered on the other side, that the function of a clergyman could not be laid aside under any circumstances." Mr. Grey, when subsequently discussing this same question on the 19th of May, propounded his own plan of what was proper to be done in the matter, which as it will probably be considered by many a reasonable and judicious proposition, and as it emanated also from the chief actor in the changes subsequently made in the representation, will be here detailed in his own words. After expressing his intention to postpone the consideration of the indelibility of the clerical character, he observed that "he considered the union of the two characters, of a priest and legislator, as by no means incompatible. He desired, however, to see the clergy excluded, because he thought

that their secular duties in that house would interfere with their spiritual ones elsewhere. He therefore lamented that the framers of this bill had not contented themselves with "rendering every person holding a benefice ineligible, and prohibiting any clergyman having once a seat in that House, from ever holding a benefice afterwards. This not being the case, he should oppose the bill."

Sir William Scott was Lord Temple's principal supporter in the view he had taken of this question: —

"It must be decided," he said, "by the canon law. He would not trouble the House with long quotations from that law, to show that the clerical character was irrevocable, but upon that point nothing could be more clear than that from the earliest periods of the Christian church it was held impossible for a man who had once entered into holy orders to divest himself of that character, and again to become a layman.* Clergymen being prevented from exercising their functions on account of misconduct was a very different thing from their being divested altogether of their clerical character. It was not correct, he asserted, to contend that, because they had acquired the right of voting for their glebe, of course they had a right to sit in parliament; for there were many other persons, besides clergymen, who had a right of voting for members of parliament who were not eligible to serve in it. At the Reformation it was for some time in

* The learned civilian says nothing respecting the ineligibility of the clergy to sit in the House of Commons by the common or statute law, from which it may be inferred that the assertion that they were so was not very defensible. Neither does he state to what extent the canon law is binding in this country. The rule, it is believed, is, that it is obligatory on the laity only in such cases, and to such extent, as the legislature may have adopted it; and that it is only further binding on the clergy as far as they may have themselves made it so by their voluntary adoption of it at their ordination, and on other occasions.

doubt whether holy orders was a sacrament; and, though the question was decided in the negative, the ordinance then became a high and holy act, whereby a man devoted himself to the service of God, and assumed a character which he could never after lay aside. He considered holy orders to resemble marriage, and observed that a man could no more resign his clerical than he could the conjugal character;—they were both for life. In the case of clergymen this indelibility might, in particular cases, be found inconvenient; but it was better that individuals should occasionally be inconvenienced, than that persons in holy orders should be diverted from the sacred duties of their office. The constitution of the country and the duties of religion had given them another and a higher sphere of action."

This great authority therefore voted for Lord Temple's motion, which, however, was negatived on a division by a majority of 41, the numbers for the previous question being 94, against it, 53. The House having thus abstained from a positive decision on this subject, Mr. Addington, on the 6th of May, brought in "a bill to remove doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in parliament," which passed through the various stages with but little opposition. In answer to an objection by some member, which was afterwards repeated by Lord Thurlow in the House of Lords, Mr. Addington, on one occasion, explained the reason why the House, instead of settling a question regarding its own privileges by its own authority, proceeded by a mode which required the concurrence of the other two branches of the legislature. "Any other mode," he said, "would have been inconclusive. It was, therefore, unavoidable in this case, as it had been in that of Mr. Grenville's bill, and many others, and as it must be in

every act of parliament where the privileges of the House come incidentally into consideration. He should have been extremely glad had it been otherwise; but a reference to the journals would satisfy any one that the thing was impossible. A resolution of the House would not be perpetual, for another parliament might rescind it. Neither would it be binding on a committee sitting under Mr. Grenville's act; so that a decision of a committee might appear in the teeth of a resolution of the House." This reasoning was satisfactory; and the only remaining difficulty, which related to the bills being made at once declaratory and enacting, being removed by the insertion of a proviso making the operation of the act prospective only, the bill passed with but one division of 102 to 11, and was sent up to the House of Lords, where it was carried without a division, though not without serious opposition *, and became the law of the land under the title of 41 Geo. III. c. 63.

* It is a singular fact, that in debating this subject, each of the three Lord Chancellors, then members of the House of Lords, expressed different opinions. Lord Thurlow strongly denied the ineligibility of the clergy to sit in parliament, and opposed the bill as an act of disfranchisement. Lord Eldon regretted that the House of Commons had not passed a resolution, instead of proceeding by bill, but supported the present measure as the next best step. Earl Rosslyn coincided with Mr. Addington's view of the subject in all respects. It is observable, that in considering the question of the indelibility of holy orders, the attention of the speakers in both Houses was directed mainly to the office of *priesthood;* and doubtless every well-regulated mind will agree that the members of that superior grade should be required by law to confine themselves to their spiritual duties. But it is questionable whether the government, in applying by this bill the same principle of indelibility to the incomplete and probationary order of deacon, did not overstrain the law as well as the necessity of the

On the 9th of June, Mr. Addington availed himself of another occasion to promote the real interests of the church, by giving the support of the government to a bill proposed by Mr. Dickenson for "relieving spiritual persons from vexatious prosecutions under an act of 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13., for their non-residence and taking of farms." This act, which, with the characteristic harshness of its malignant author, imposed heavy penalties on the clergy for the most trivial and unavoidable acts of non-residence, and even for buying or selling a cow, sheep, or other animal, had been made by common informers the ground of the grossest extortion and injustice. Mr.

case, and, in truth, injure the church when they intended to promote its advantage. A deacon is but an inchoate clergyman. He cannot hold preferment; has no authority to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; cannot undertake the cure of souls except as the representative of another; and, if ordained upon a fellowship, has not even taken upon himself any spiritual charge. Now to oblige a person, without regard to any change which may have occurred in his views or circumstances, to retain through life a profession to which he had been only partially admitted at the early age of twenty-three, is likely to prove in two respects injurious to the church; 1st, whilst society will regard him as a clergyman, though he fulfils no duties as such, and will expect from him a corresponding strictness of outward demeanour, he will very probably consider himself as only a layman, and will conduct himself accordingly in reference to the ordinary habits and pursuits of life. But, chiefly, the attaching the character of indelibility to the order of deacon entirely destroys the *idea of probation* which so properly belongs to that office. If a deacon has acquired a character indelibly spiritual, why this half admission to the priesthood? Why not fully admit him to all the privileges and duties of his office? But the church, in all its regulations, has made a distinction between the two orders, thereby treating the deacon's office as a probationary state, the entrance as it were into the vestibule; and the priesthood as the real door of admission to the Church itself.

Addington, therefore, fully approved of Mr. Dickenson's suggestion for relieving the clergymen who were unjustly affected by its operation, as a temporary measure; but he objected to the total repeal of the act, because "it appeared to him good in its principle, as tending to promote a most important object, the residence of the clergy."

"As regarded the question of farming, the clergy," he considered, "should confine themselves as much as possible to the exercise of their sacred functions; but, considering how inadequate the incomes of many of them were to the respectable support of their families, he could see no impropriety in their endeavouring to improve their means by occupying the glebes allowed them by the legislature together with some small addition. He was far from desiring that they should be diverted by such occupations from paying their principal attention to their sacred duties, but there was no secular employment so little inconsistent with the clerical character as agriculture, provided it were conducted to a limited extent."

Mr. Addington then proceeded to make the following remarks on the state of the church, in which he had the merit of anticipating, by a period of above thirty years, the progress of legislation on ecclesiastical subjects: —

"Though he approved of this as a temporary measure, he hoped that a well-digested and more general system of regulation would ere long be brought before the legislature. It would then be found that many cases exist, in which, from the extreme inadequacy of the livings, it would be improper to enforce residence. When such a general system, therefore, was brought forward, he hoped it would also be taken into consideration whether the *great resources of the country could be better applied than in increasing the incomes of certain livings in the church, so that their holders may reside in their parishes,*

and at the same time maintain the rank which is necessary to their usefulness. The smallness of livings was an encouragement to pluralities; pluralities necessarily produced non-residence; and non-residence was the great evil complained of."

These enlightened sentiments elicited the approbation of Mr. Whitbread, who, however, deprecated the idea of having recourse to the public purse; but Mr. Addington replied, that "the collective revenues of the church, however distributed, were wholly inadequate to the remedy of this evil. He knew the public prejudice on the subject; but he also knew that it was a false prejudice."

The immediate object advocated by Mr. Addington on this occasion, was readily conceded by parliament; but the great evil of which he complained has not been fully and effectually remedied to the present moment.*

Another measure in which Mr. Addington necessarily took part related to Ireland. A secret committee of the House had been appointed to investigate the evidence relating to seditious practices in that country, and in consequence of their recommendation, Mr. Abbot, on the 27th of May, moved the continuance, for a limited time, of the act for establishing martial law in Ireland. It was so obvious that the embers of the recent rebellion still remained unextinguished, that Mr. Abbot's proposition was carried without a division; but a bill brought in the same day by the attorney general on the recommen-

* This bill gave great satisfaction to the clergy and public generally. "Your speech on the clergy bill," wrote Dr. Huntingford, "expresses the sentiments of all with whom I have conversed. Do befriend us against vile informers."

dation also of the secret committee, for indemnifying "all persons concerned in imprisoning individuals under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, since the 1st of February, 1793," encountered greater difficulties, and was not carried without considerable opposition. In arguing this subject, Mr. Tierney, by alluding to a "rumour which was abroad, that the recent change of administration was a mere juggle," called forth the following observations from Mr. Addington: —

"As to the insinuation which had been thrown out, of a juggle between his Majesty's late and present ministers, he could not avoid saying, that it was really unworthy of the honourable gentleman, though he disclaimed being a party to it. But no such insinuation, though it had come from him or any other member, should deter him from doing his duty; and no apprehension of being identified with his Majesty's late ministers should prevent him from giving a conscientious vote for their protection when they so evidently deserved it. There were points upon which he differed from his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt), for he gloried in calling him by that name, and he was sure he always should, but he was convinced it was owing to the measures adopted by that administration that the country was rescued from the imminent danger with which it was threatened: it was to them that the country was indebted for the security it now enjoyed. He would not be deterred, therefore, by such insinuations from supporting a measure for protecting the country. He knew that in saying thus much, he was exposing himself to another imputation, namely, that he might hereafter require such protection himself. He certainly did not disclaim it; for he thought that persons who served the country had a right to its protection. He expected that protection, and should claim it if he deserved it." Mr. Tierney replied "that he did not assert that there was a juggle between the late and present ministers; he retained the right of accusing them, should it eventually prove to be the fact.

He had no disposition to attack Mr. Addington; but in kindness to him, wished the matter cleared up, that he might appear with proper dignity in the eyes of the people."

The only remaining subject in which Mr. Addington peculiarly interested himself before the prorogation of parliament, was the momentous question of finance; but as he had not yet presided over the Exchequer for a period sufficient for the adoption of new measures, it is only necessary to state in this place, that on the 22d of June he submitted to the House a series of twenty-four resolutions, embracing a clear and comprehensive statement of the whole finances of the kingdom. These did not differ materially from Mr. Tierney's annual statement on the same subject, which that gentleman had presented a few days before. Both the documents in question are to be found amongst the other records of the period. They were discussed in a very temperate and candid spirit by their respective authors, on the 22d and 29th of June, on one of which occasions, Mr. Addington, supposing, as it appeared, erroneously, that Mr. Tierney had advocated interference with the sinking fund, made the following judicious remarks on that subject: —

"The only part of the honourable gentleman's comments," he observed, "to which he referred with regret, was that in which he had stated to the House an opinion, that the large accumulation of the sinking fund might possibly be applied to the support of public credit, more beneficially for the country than conformably to the system adopted by parliament. He confessed that he never had looked to that system without admiration; he thought it creditable in the highest degree to those with whom it had originated, but still more creditable to parliament, by whom it had been maintained. He should grieve if ever there should be a disposition in the

House, or in the country, to shrink from the support of such a system. It was the great prop, the hope, and consolation of the country; it was that which, if steadily persevered in, must ultimately carry the country through all the obstacles with which it had to contend. Mr. Addington spoke also with much ability on the general condition of the finances, and particularly on the wisdom and salutary effects of the income tax, notwithstanding it was mortgaged to the extent of 56,445,000*l.*, 3 per cent. stock, borrowed to make good the deficiencies in the annual returns of this tax, which sum, however, would be redeemed by a continuance in the present system in ten years. He concluded by stating, that although he could not look on the state of the finances without seriousness, still the more minutely he examined it, the greater was his confidence that, with steadiness, fortitude, and prudence, all the difficulties might be surmounted."

This was the last important debate of the session, and on Thursday, July 2d, the parliament was prorogued by commission. His Majesty's speech, delivered by the Lord Chancellor, and prepared, as is usually the case, by the minister, was "judicious in choice of topic, wise in expressing the end to which the recent successes should lead, namely, the attainment of peace," and confident in the opinion it recorded of the "continued spirit and perseverance of the country." Such was the judgment which Dr. Huntingford formed of this composition, and we learn from the following extract from a letter dated Cuffnals, July 1st, 1801, that the great personage in whose name it was delivered, regarded it in the same favourable light: — "The King highly approves of the sentiments and language of the speech on the close, to-morrow, of the session, as he thinks it equally calculated to support the national character abroad, as well as at home."

CHAPTER XIV.

1801.

Mr. Addington passes the Summer at Wimbledon. King's Journey to Weymouth — His Letters. Letters from Lord Malmesbury, Lord St. Helen's, and Sir Richard Hill. Mr. Abbot, Secretary for Ireland — His Proceedings and Correspondence. Colonel Littlehales' Letters to Lord Hardwicke. Menace of Invasion. Preparations to repel it. Correspondence between the King, Prince of Wales, and Mr. Addington, on the Prince's Desire to serve in the Field. Employment of Lord Nelson — Correspondence with his Lordship. Preparations in Ireland. Preliminaries of Peace signed October 1st. Letters of Sir J. Macpherson respecting M. Otto during 'Progress of Negotiation. Letters on the Peace from Prince of Wales, Duke of York, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, and Sir Richard Hill. Observations on the Treaty. Disapprobation of Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham — Their Letters — And Mr. Addington's Letter to Pitt on the Subject. Mr. Addington's admission that he had destroyed numerous Letters of Mr. Pitt.

MR. ADDINGTON was now enjoying the "halcyon period of his administration." Foreign operations had been crowned with complete success, and at home no fresh combination of the elements of opposition had as yet been effected; the prorogation of parliament afforded leisure for the completion of his plans, and the careful re-consideration of his policy; the weariness of the protracted war, manifested both by friends and foes, presented a cheering presage of approaching pacifica-

tion; and to crown all, the favour and approbation of his sovereign were conferred upon him to an extent which very few ministers have received. All these circumstances were such an earnest of Divine favour as might well reconcile him to the acceptance of his present situation, and encourage him to perseverance in its arduous duties.

One of the earliest uses which he made of his liberty was to write the following letter to Dr. Huntingford: —

"Downing Street, June 30th, 1801.

"Having now a few moments of breathing time, I am glad to avail myself of them by thanking you for many kind and welcome letters. * * * I have inadvertently dated this from Downing Street, though I am writing at Wimbledon. Mr. Dundas is going to Scotland, and has lent me his house till that is prepared which his Majesty has destined for me in Richmond Park. The King and royal family paid a visit of two hours to Mrs. Addington and myself on Sunday evening, and yesterday morning quitted Kew, in perfect health, for the New Forest and Weymouth. His Majesty had at one time an idea of seeing you and my son in his way through Winchester, but I ventured to discourage it. This intimation is of course for yourself only.

"I am your affectionate friend, H. A."

The visit to Weymouth proved extremely beneficial to the King's health. His Majesty's first resting-place was Cuffnals, the seat of Mr. George Rose, from whence he addressed the following satisfactory report to Mr. Addington: —

"Cuffnals, July 3d, 1801.

"The King cannot leave this place without entrusting the senior messenger with a line, to be left in Downing Street,

for his Chancellor of the Exchequer, to acquaint him that the gentle exercise, new objects of admiration which this country affords, and the real comfort and hospitality of this place, has been beneficial to the health of all the party. * * * The yachts are waiting at Christ Church to convey the whole family to Weymouth. If the wind remains as at present, it will be reached in four or five hours.

"GEORGE R."

The King's next letter contains a curious proof that royalty enjoys no special exemption from those trivial disasters by which life is often inconvenienced: —

"Weymouth, July 8th, 1801.

"The King received Mr. Addington's box this morning; but the key having broken in opening that of the War Office yesterday, he has sent for a new one to Davis at Windsor, which cannot, at soonest, arrive before to-morrow, when his Majesty will answer its contents.

"He is certain Mr. Addington will be pleased at hearing all the family here are now well. The King finds his sleep now perfect, but that it is necessary to avoid any hurry: even the event of the breaking the key gave more uneasiness than it ought.

"GEORGE R."

On the following day, his Majesty, when acknowledging the arrival of the key, expressed his hope that "the messenger who returned from Cuffnals, agreeable to order, called at Winchester that Mr. Addington might hear of his son." What a delicate attention this! how truly indicative of a benevolent heart!

The succeeding communication from Weymouth is inserted to show the attention which the King and his Minister paid to the claims of merit, in exercising the patronage of the crown: —

"Weymouth, July 18th, 1801.

"The King is highly pleased that the first vacancy of a Regius Professor should have enabled Mr. Addington to recommend a man so universally esteemed as Sir Christopher Pegge; the more so as the King knows how very deservedly Mr. Addington considers the importance to science that these University situations should be bestowed on merit, not solicitation.

"GEORGE R."

The collection contains two other letters which his Majesty addressed to Mr. Addington in the month of August. In one of these he expressed his "satisfaction at the news imparted by a private letter from Lord Minto, of the surrender of Cairo and the whole French force in that quarter;" in the other he rejoiced that "the second enterprise of Sir James Saumarez had added fresh lustre to the brilliant exploits of the navy," concluding with an invitation to Mr. Addington to come to Weymouth whenever "he thought he could be best spared from the neighbourhood of London." There were circumstances, however, which rendered the minister's absence from the seat of government, at that period, highly inexpedient; but before these are particularly described, reference should be made to the miscellaneous correspondence, the course of which has been somewhat anticipated. The letter first in order of time under this head, is one which, from the cordial personal attachment to Mr. Addington, and faithful adherence to his government, professed in it by the writer, will here be presented entire.

"My dear Sir, Park Place, Aug. 20th, 1801.

"I have hitherto avoided troubling you either with letters or with visits, since, as their sole object would have been to

convey to you assurances of which I trust you can have no doubt, they would have been a very unfair and unjustifiable interruption of a time so usefully employed for us all; but I should now appear unmindful of the many acts of kindness you have for several years shown my son, if I delayed to communicate to you that my good friend Lord Pelham is going to name him to a confidential appointment under him. It is my wish that, before he comes into parliament, (whenever that may be,) he should acquire habits and such a general knowledge of public business as would in a degree qualify him for a parliamentary situation, to which there are, in my mind, duties attached not sufficiently attended to in general. From the confidence with which Lord Pelham will treat him, and from the nature of his employment, it will be his own fault if he does not acquire these habits; and I hope, then, you will allow both him and me to reckon upon a continuation of that good-will we feel so sensibly, for preventing him from leading a life of idleness and inactivity. I think I do not speak under the influence of paternal partiality, when I say he will not discredit any countenance you may show him as a minister; and I can boldly assert he will never be deficient in sentiments of personal regard and esteem. The greatest obligation I can now receive, would be through any favour conferred on him. I myself am paid much beyond the value of my services; and this consideration is so deeply impressed on my mind, that I conceive it to be quite useless and unnecessary to say that his Majesty's government, and particularly a government at the head of which you are placed, may always command these services whenever they may be deemed useful, and so far as the state of my health will permit me to act.

"I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, with great esteem and respect, your most obedient and faithful servant,

"MALMESBURY."

"To the Right Hon. H. Addington."

The letter next in succession is one from Lord St. Helen's, dated "St. Petersburgh, August 22d," announcing his having sent by the hands of Captain

Sotheron, "a snuff-box, with the Emperor Alexander's picture, enriched with diamonds, which Count Panin had desired his Lordship to present to Mr. Addington on the part of his Imperial Majesty." It will readily be imagined that this gratifying recognition of his "humble but sincere endeavours to promote that good understanding between Russia and Great Britain which was so highly important to the interests of the two countries and of Europe," was accepted by Mr. Addington in terms of grateful acknowledgment, which Lord St. Helen's was requested to convey to the imperial donor.

Attention is now for a moment recalled to the royal correspondence, for the purpose of inserting an extract from a letter of the King addressed to Mr. Addington from Weymouth, on the 2nd of September, which is strongly indicative of his Majesty's piety and considerate prudence.

"In the box the King found a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, recommending the ordering a thanksgiving prayer, on account of the very abundant harvest. His Majesty certainly approves of it, but hopes, though by the goodness of Divine Providence the harvest has proved so favourable, that every care will be taken to be moderate in the expenditure of it; the King wishes to suggest whether, even in the prayer, some words to that effect would not be proper."—It appears from a memorandum at the back of the above letter, that Mr. Addington forwarded it to the Archbishop; but the author has not been able to ascertain whether or not his Grace complied with the suggestion contained in it.

The extracts upon general topics will here be closed

with a portion of a letter from Sir Richard Hill, one of the most respected of that phalanx of county members which constituted the principal support of Mr. Addington's administration. Writing from his seat of Hawkstone, September 17th, this excellent man, whose character has been so admirably delineated by his relative and biographer, the Rev. Edwin Sidney, thus describes the state of affairs in loyal Salop: —

"You will be happy to hear that throughout this county the most harmonious loyalty and satisfaction prevail, and this day your health was drunk here by more Hills than supported old Rome. Believe me, dear Sir, your sympathy and attention in sending me the first account of Colonel Rowland after the battle of the 13th of March on the coast of Egypt, can never be forgotten by any of this family; and the kind part you then took, warrants me to think that you will be glad to hear, that, as late as the beginning of July, he was, through the Divine blessing, perfectly well. Four of my brother John's sons have now the honour of being in his Majesty's service."

Three subjects will now be adverted to which have been reserved for special consideration, as having occupied much of the Minister's attention during the summer: the state of Ireland, the threatened invasion, and the negotiations for peace.

Mr. Abbot, who had accepted the responsible and important office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, under Lord Hardwicke, having repaired to that country shortly after the prorogation of parliament, found ample employment for his active mind in framing numerous regulations which had become doubly necessary from the recent Union, and the previously

deranged state of Irish affairs.* Whilst thus engaged, his communications with Mr. Addington were frequent and prolonged: indeed the first letter he addressed to that minister, from Ireland, dated July 27th, contains a list of objects undertaken or contemplated which is almost appalling.

After stating that all was proceeding quietly and, therefore, well, and that, notwithstanding the current business of each day, he still had entered upon general matters, Mr. Abbot proceeds to enumerate the various military and civil concerns to which he was directing his attention. Of the former class he had already gone through, with Colonel Littlehales, the distribution of the military force, and the secret instructions to Sir William Medows; and was proceeding to consider the finances of the army, the establishment of a system of checks for controlling military expenditure, the discriminating between the future duties and privileges of the offices of Lord Lieutenant and Commander of the Forces, preparations to resist invasion, and the arrangement of a speedy mode of communication between England and Ireland by means of expresses. "So much," Mr. Abbot observes, "for war!" Nor were the arts of peace out of their thoughts: already were they renewing the plan for working the mines of Ireland

* Some doubt existed, on Mr. Abbot's first appointment, as to his proper title and office; his predecessor, Lord Castlereagh, having held the two offices of "Secretary of State" and "Chief Secretary" together. It was discovered, however, that the former office, as regarded duties, was a mere title of honour, and hence, on Lord Castlereagh's resignation, it was abolished, and the principal official of Ireland has from that time been styled "Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant."

more advantageously; the Lord Lieutenant also had signified his intention of putting the University of Dublin upon the same footing as the English Universities in respect to the privilege of printing Bibles and Common Prayer Books; the inland navigation plans were under consideration; and Mr. Abbot had also commenced a general investigation of the revenue and expenditure of the government. All these topics had already been fully discussed between Mr. Addington and Mr. Abbot before the departure of the latter from London, and were now made the subjects of correspondence between them.

In the next letter, dated July the 30th, Mr. Abbot announces the institution of measures to promote the interchange of militia regiments between England and Ireland, a step justly considered necessary to the security of the whole United Kingdom; and he adds, that the Lord Lieutenant's attention had also been imperatively drawn "to the issue of clothing, arms, accoutrements, and appointments for the yeomanry, without which that valuable body of men would be of no account in the strength of their defence."

The Union had necessarily left various points connected with the system of governing Ireland in an unsettled state. Perplexed, therefore, by the difficulty and delicacy of the questions which arose, Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Abbot now resolved to send Colonel Littlehales to Mr. Addington to "undertake the representation of their sentiments," and to obtain the benefit of his judgment upon the great and serious matters which awaited his decision: —

"We have noted," Mr. Abbot wrote in the letter conveyed by Colonel Littlehales on the 28th of August, "the several

topics on which we desire your directions for our conduct. Some are matters of general policy, others of technical detail; but all of them more or less important to the daily transaction of business here, which now derives all its facilities from the accidental harmony and personal good-will which fortunately obtains between the several departments; but which, without some definitive arrangements, cannot be of any duration. If you can indulge Colonel Littlehales with an evening's conversation at Wimbledon, he will put you in possession of all the facts requisite to form your judgment upon the subject of his mission. These, though few, are striking. He need not occupy your time with technical details; but there are paramount questions of policy, on the principles of governing Ireland, which are emphatically for yourself, and scarcely for any other's deliberation."

A copy of the letter (dated "Sept. 16th," and marked "most secret") which Colonel Littlehales wrote to Mr. Abbot, after his conference with the Prime Minister at Wimbledon, has been preserved, but, for obvious reasons, the extracts here made from it must be brief and few:—

"I have had much confidential conversation with Mr. Addington relative to Irish affairs. He was exceedingly candid and communicative. * * * He observed, that it was a principle of union from which no minister could or ought to deviate, that no promise or encouragement should be given to any person who might, in the eyes of the government of Ireland, be eligible as a candidate for a vacancy in the representation of the peers, a seat in the House of Commons, a bishopric, judgeship, or any other high situation, without a previous communication and concurrence with his Majesty's ministers: that the Lord Lieutenant should have the recommendatory power, and that the grace of the appointment should be his; but that his Majesty's confidential servants would not pledge themselves to the adoption of every recommendation made by him, although, of course, due and favourable consideration would be given to the reasons he may

assign for his selection. * * * Mr. Addington concurred with me, that the character of the King's government would suffer materially if any abuses were to be overlooked in Ireland; but he was of opinion, that by probity, honour, and an impartial administration of justice, those evils would be gradually cured; whereas the immediate adoption of violent remedies would not only disgust many of those who had supported the union, but the nation at large might be induced to feel that it was a manifestation of the intention of the cabinet to act towards them in a somewhat harsh and oppressive manner; and that the adoption of any unusual measures, even in regard to the conduct of the public departments, without a conference previously obtained with the King's ministers, seemed impolitic, and, upon principles of good-will and cordiality, inexpedient. Mr. Addington wished me to understand, that he had opened himself most unreservedly and confidentially to me; but that he certainly was not fully prepared to discuss with me those very important points on which his sentiments are separately solicited by the Lord Lieutenant, but that he would soon go through them with me seriatim on Union principles. My conferences with Lord Pelham have been too indirect and informal to enable me exactly to ascertain his sentiments on the foregoing points; but I am very strongly induced to believe that they are in complete unison with those of Mr. Addington."

The foregoing extracts are sufficient to show the able manner in which Mr. Addington applied his sound and discriminating judgment to the work of adapting the principles of government in Ireland to those which prevailed throughout the empire. The remainder of this branch of the correspondence relates to the threat of invasion, a subject to which it has now become necessary briefly to advert.

The petty, though successful warfare which England had so long waged against the French West India colonies was found in the result less injurious

to the enemy than to herself. So fatal indeed had that climate proved to the British army, that to supply the reinforcements necessary to secure the conquest of Egypt, the government were obliged to strip the foreign garrisons, and even England herself, of a large proportion of the regular troops. Bonaparte had, perhaps, obtained a knowledge of this circumstance; or, possibly, he may have hoped that a renewal, on his part, of the old threat of invasion would deter Great Britain from sending any additional force to the Mediterranean. At all events, he now concentrated his armies, with much parade, at the various ports on the western coast of France: he accumulated an immense number of small vessels and boats at Boulogne, and made in all respects a grand display of invading apparatus. And although the British nation, flushed with their successes in Egypt, and more united amongst themselves than at any former period of the war, dared the execution of the threat, and could scarcely regard as serious the idea of invading England in open boats without the support of any fleet, still it would have been the extreme of imprudence on the part of the government not to have taken every precaution against so formidable and enterprising an opponent. Mr. Addington, therefore, omitted nothing in the way of preparation; and so fully was he occupied, that during the whole vacation he absented himself but once from Wimbledon, which was to pay his duty to the King at Weymouth. Never indeed did his friend Dr. Huntingford prophesy more truly than when he wrote thus, on the 27th of July: — "I am afraid the Chief Consul will not give you much leisure for enjoying your recess. As for other fears,

we have none. The country is prepared, and all upon the watch to receive his armies whenever they appear."

The zeal of the Minister, on this occasion, was nobly supported and encouraged by the members of the royal family, who evinced the greatest anxiety to be employed in resisting the invaders of their country. The brave king, indeed, held the threat of invasion in too little fear even to allude to it in any of his letters; but the correspondence embraces several communications from the Duke of York and Prince William of Gloucester on the subject, as well as a most pressing offer of his services from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The former addressed Mr. Addington from Cowes, on the 27th of July, to express his earnest hope, as his own regiment was abroad, that, in case of invasion, he may be permitted to serve in any capacity in which he might be useful.

The Duke of York wrote to the Premier from Oatlands, on the 28th of August, "to ask his advice upon the propriety of his going, for a few days, to Weymouth. I had intended," his Royal Highness proceeds, "if every thing appeared quiet, to go there on the 8th of next month; but, understanding that the French preparations are in such forwardness, I really am afraid of absenting myself at this moment. Besides, I am sorry to say, that I have the greatest difficulty in keeping the officers of militia at their posts; and think that they may imagine all alarm over, and plead my going to Weymouth as an excuse to ask leave of absence. At the same time, I should be exceedingly sorry that his Majesty should for a moment suppose that I am not most anxious to pay my duty,

if in my power — I therefore much wish to have your opinion."

The letter in which the Prince of Wales conveyed the offer of his military services contains sentiments so noble in themselves, and so becoming the heir apparent of the British crown, that the author cannot resist the temptation to insert it at full length: —

"Dear Sir, Brighton, August 3d, 1801.

"In the present anxious pressure of public affairs, I am extremely unwilling to obtrude the smallest additional weight of business upon you, and more especially so, to intrude any which could belong personally to myself. But the station you fill renders it necessary that all such communications as I have to state should be made directly to you. Besides, the zeal which I am conscious animates you in the cause of all the royal family, together with the kind and obliging interest I believe you so particularly take in whatever essentially relates to myself, induce me to communicate with you in thorough confidence, and under the impression of high personal opinion and esteem.

"As I wish to make you perfectly master of the subject I am about to treat, I enclose you the copy of a letter*

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* As the papers which passed on this subject were subsequently published by the Prince's own command, it is hoped that the insertion in this place of a document so honourable to his Royal Highness's memory will not be considered disrespectful.

"Sir, Carlton House, April 25th, 1798.

"I have, from various considerations of duty and respect, delayed to the latest hour obtruding myself, by a direct application to your Majesty; and it is with an earnestness with which I never before ventured to approach you, Sir, that I presume to throw myself at your feet, and to implore your gracious attention to the humble sentiments I offer in this letter. The serious and aweful crisis in which this country now stands calls for the united efforts of every British arm in the defence of all that can be dear to Englishmen;

which I wrote the King in April, 1798, when the alarm of invasion was universal, although very wide of that formi-

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and it is with glowing pride that I behold the prevalence of this sentiment through every part of your Majesty's kingdom. Whatever may sometime back have been your Majesty's objections to my being in the way of actual service, yet at a crisis like this, unexampled in our history, when every subject in the realm is eagerly seeking for, and has his post assigned him, those objections will, I humbly trust, yield to the pressure of the times, and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to call me forth to a station wherein I may prove myself worthy of the confidence of my country, and of the high rank I hold in it, by staking my life in its defence. Death would be preferable to being marked as the only man that was not suffered to come forth on such an occasion. Should it be my fate to fall in so glorious a contest, no injury could arise to the line of succession, on account of the number happily remaining of your Majesty's children. At the same time, were there fifty princes, or were I the single one, it would, in my humble judgment, be equally incumbent on them, or me, to stand foremost in the ranks of danger at so decisive a period as the present. I am the more induced to confide that your Majesty's goodness will comply with my humble petition, from the conviction I feel that had similar circumstances prevailed in the reign of the late king, when your Majesty was Prince of Wales, you would have panted, Sir, for the opportunity I now so earnestly covet. I know your Majesty, and am fixed in this belief; and I should hold myself unworthy of my descent and station, if a tamer impulse could now possess me: still more to justify this confidence, allow me to recall to your Majesty's recollection the expressions you were graciously pleased to use when I solicited foreign service upon my first coming into the army. They were, Sir, 'That your Majesty did not then see the opportunity for it, but that if any thing was to arise at home, I ought to be one of *the first and foremost.*'

"My character with the nation, my honour, my future fame and prospects in life, are now all at stake; I therefore supplicate your Majesty to afford me those means for their preservation which affection for my country, and devotion to my sovereign, would have prompted me to solicit, even though my birth and station had not rendered it my duty to claim them. I presume in no respect to prescribe to your Majesty the mode of my being

dable aspect which this measure unquestionably wears at the present day. I cannot immediately put my hand on the answer his Majesty wrote me to this letter (it being among my papers in London), but it went distinctly to this, that in case of the enemy's landing, my regiment was to be foremost of the cavalry, and myself at their head. The feelings I have expressed to the King in this letter, as possessing me at that day, be assured have lived in my breast ever since, and operate at this moment with a tenfold increase: yet, dreading even the apprehension of offering any proposition that might tend, however slightly, to flurry the King, I have determined not to repeat a similar mode of application to his Majesty on the present occasion; but, confiding in your friendly discretion, place these uppermost wishes of my heart entirely in your hands, requesting that you will take the earliest convenient opportunity of bringing this subject before his Majesty as a suggestion from yourself, not only founded upon the infinite anxiety you know it to excite in my mind, but from the high rank I bear in the country, as a measure of national expectation at so eventful a crisis as the present, and in its consequences materially affecting my future character and consequence in life in the estimation of the world. I again submit, as before, to be called out in whatever character his Majesty shall think fit. I own that a command of cavalry would be most pleasing to me, because I think in that line I could best serve my king and country; but I have no difficulties. I am willing and ready to serve in any command and with any rank a letter of service may assign me: or even to serve under the command of any officer whatever it may be his Majesty's pleasure to place over me. Independent of an ardent love for actual service, the consideration

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employed. What I humbly, but most earnestly, solicit, is the certainty of active service, in such a character as to your Majesty shall seem fit.

"With the profoundest humility, I have the honour to subscribe myself your Majesty's most dutiful and most affectionate son and subject,

"GEORGE P."

of my fame and character with the world engrosses, as you may readily conceive, my every thought, and will, I make no doubt, insure to me your good offices and cordial co-operation in the attainment of an object I have so earnestly at heart; for I can with the utmost sincerity conclude this letter with assuring you of the truth of the declaration I made in my letter to the King, 'that death would be preferable to the being marked as the only man that was not suffered to stand forth on such an occasion.'

"I am, dear Sir, ever very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P."

A month elapsed after the receipt of the foregoing letter before Mr. Addington had an opportunity of submitting it to his Majesty at Weymouth. He then announced the favourable reception it had met with, to the illustrious writer, in the following terms:—

Mr. Addington to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

"Sir, Wimbledon, Sept. 11th, 1801.

"In obedience to the commands of your Royal Highness, I laid before his Majesty, at Weymouth, the letter with which I was honoured by your Royal Highness at the beginning of last month. The satisfaction which it afforded to his Majesty was only qualified by the difficulty to which his Majesty adverted, in the most gracious terms, of giving full effect to your Royal Highness's wishes. His Majesty highly applauded the feelings by which your Royal Highness is actuated, but was of opinion that there was no military situation, suited to the rank of your Royal Highness, between the chief command and that which your Royal Highness now holds. A reference was made by his Majesty to his answer to your Royal Highness's letter in the year 1798; upon which, as I had not seen it, I had nothing to offer. The conversation, from causes which it is unnecessary for me to state to your Royal Highness, was unavoidably short; but, on many accounts, I should not have thought myself justified

in attempting to protract it. In consequence of the expedition with which I was obliged to travel it has not been possible for me to make an earlier communication to your Royal Highness, but I have availed myself of the first minute, for that purpose, after my return. In making it, I do not presume to express any feelings of my own, but those of regret, arising from a consciousness that I have stated inadequately those sentiments of the King from which your Royal Highness would derive the highest gratification.

"I have the satisfaction of confirming the information, of which your Royal Highness must be possessed, that their Majesties and the royal family appeared quite well. It seemed to be his Majesty's intention to return to Windsor at the end of this month.

"With the utmost respect and deference, I have the honour to remain, Sir, your Royal Highness's faithful and devoted servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

This subject was resumed by his Royal Highness, without any favourable result, in the summer of 1803, when a lengthened correspondence took place between the King, the Prince, the Duke of York, and Mr. Addington, which appears in the forty-fifth volume of the Annual Register, page 564. On that occasion his Majesty expressed his final decision on the question in a short letter, which, to prevent the necessity of future reference to the matter, will here be given.

His Majesty King George III. to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

"My dear Son, Windsor, Aug. 7th, 1803.

"Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determin-

ation on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no further on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion; and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of every thing that is dear to me and to my people. I ever remain, my dear Son, your most affectionate father,

"G. R."

Meanwhile, preparations against the threatened descent were prosecuted with the utmost energy; and as a mere system of defence was wholly foreign to the British character, it was resolved at once to roll back the tide of war from our own coasts to the enemy's, and to adopt the plan of attacking instead of waiting to be attacked. For this purpose, the offered services of Nelson were accepted; and on the 4th and 15th of August, that heroic commander made two attacks on the flotilla collected at Boulogne, which, though not crowned with entire success, tended, nevertheless, to strike the enemy with terror, and to convince all Europe of the utter futility of his menace of invasion. The interesting private letters which Nelson addressed to Mr. Addington during these proceedings, with a single exception, contribute to enrich the fourth volume of the "Dispatches and Letters." One, however, written at the close of the service, has been reserved for this work, and, for the reason recently assigned in another case, will here be presented, in conjunction with the answer, which has been obligingly communicated by Sir Harris Nicolas: —

"My dear Sir, Amazon, at sea, Oct. 4th, 1801.

"From my heart do I congratulate you in having been able to allow the wishes of the country to be complied with in the near approach of peace, by the signing preliminary articles. I trust it will answer the expectation of the country; but I am aware of the necessity of all good men guarding against the influx of Frenchmen and their detestable principles into this happy country. Without a compliment, and desiring only still to be considered by you as doing my duty to my king and country, you may rely on my full support in the senate, as I have strove to support your honest principles in the field; being convinced that whatever you propose is intended for the honour of our king and country. I have served, my dear Sir, till the thread of life is almost worn out, and Lord St. Vincent wishes me to remain at my post till all is settled. I have every inclination to do what he wishes, but I fear I am not able, if the negotiation gets into the winter, to continue afloat; therefore I beg your still favourable opinion of me, even if I should be forced to come on shore; and that you will ever believe me,

"Your most obliged,

"NELSON AND BRONTE.

"Right Hon. Henry Addington."

[Copy.]

To Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson.

"My dear Lord, Downing Street, Oct. 8th, 1801.

"Many thanks for your letter, every part of which gave me pleasure, that only excepted which refers to the state of your health. Captain Sutton has, I trust, relieved you in a great degree from the pressure of some of the most laborious parts of your duty; and if you wish to remain chiefly on shore, or even to remove to London or elsewhere for a few days, you may, I know, rely on the acquiescence of the Board of Admiralty. But I owe it to my regard for your Lordship, and to my public duty, to declare it to be my opinion, that it is of the utmost importance to your own high character and to the interests of the country that your flag should be flying till the definitive treaty has been signed. You will then

have seen the ship safe into port, and may close with honour a career of unexampled success and glory.

"With true regard I am ever, my dear Lord,

"Your sincere friend and faithful servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

The Minister's private feelings, during this crisis, may be gathered from the following letter, which he addressed to his brother on the 29th of August:—

"My dear Hiley, Wimbledon.

"Every thing has hitherto gone on well since we parted, though it has been an interval of fatigue to myself, and, I must say, of considerable anxiety. Your return will be a comfort to me. In my hasty note of Thursday I adverted to the papers. They are certainly too tame on the subject of invasion. They underrate the preparations that have been made by the enemy and ourselves, and have not yet taken the tone which, even under present circumstances, might be useful.

"Ever yours, H. A."

Whilst the note of preparation was thus sounded in England, equal activity was displayed in Ireland. Not only was every expedient adopted by which a large military force might be assembled in the shortest space of time, but Mr. Abbot was labouring to effect two objects of paramount importance; namely, that rapid communication with England, by means of fast-sailing boats, which has since been more fully accomplished by steam navigation, and an interchange of militia regiments between the two countries. These purposes are alluded to in the following extract from Mr. Abbot's letter of the 19th of September:—"Dublin is still quiet, but we are watchful. I have written to remind Sir George Shee of the communication by

wherries. And if we could lend you a few militia regiments, and borrow a few English in return, I believe it would go farther to cement the Union and secure the defence of this country than any other circumstance."

Whilst the two most powerful nations in the world, drawn up in hostile array, were thus frowning at each other from opposite sides of the Channel, suddenly all Europe was astounded by intelligence that a preliminary treaty of peace between them had been signed in London by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto*, on the 1st of October. On this important event, the author

* "M. Otto was of a Protestant family, settled at Strasburg, where he was educated; and in 1777, at the age of eighteen, he was recommended by the university of that city as private secretary to the Marquis de Luzerne, French minister at Munich. In 1779 he followed the Marquis to the United States; but on the peace of 1783 his patron was transferred to London, and M. Otto was nominated French *chargé des affaires* in North America, where he remained till 1793, when he returned to Paris, and was placed at the Foreign Office. It was he who wrote the pacific proposals which were conveyed to England by M. Maret, and so ill received by Lord Grenville. His principles being at variance with those of the French government, he was imprisoned in the Luxembourg, on the pretext of secret correspondence with England, and his papers were seized and examined; but the inquiry terminated in his honourable acquittal and restoration to his office. M. Otto afterwards accompanied Sieyes to Berlin, and remained there until 1799, when he was despatched by the French government to England, with the nominal appointment of superintendent of the exchange of prisoners, but in reality to negotiate a peace. He arrived just after the celebrated letter of Bonaparte to George III. M. Otto was recalled on account of supposed aggressions of the British government against the French fishing trade, but he contrived to delay his departure, on finding that a favourable moment to open a negotiation, which terminated in the signature of the preliminary articles of peace, October 1st, 1801." It will be found that M. Otto survived the war of the revolution.

regrets that he can add but little to the stock of information which the public already possesses. It will be remembered, that M. Otto, who resided in London as commissioner for French prisoners, had been in communication with Mr. Pitt's government in the preceding year on the subject of an armistice; and it is well known that the intercourse with that gentleman was renewed by Lord Hawkesbury shortly after the formation of Mr. Addington's administration. His Lordship was blamed by some parties for having, on this occasion, lost sight of the dignity of diplomacy, by negotiating with a private citizen of France; but, in this respect, he only followed the example of Lord Grenville. It appears from the original documents relating to the peace of Amiens, deposited in the State Paper Office, that this communication began about the middle of March, but the correspondence contains no direct evidence to that effect. Indeed, the total silence upon this topic of the letters addressed to Mr. Addington at this period, with but one exception, leads, necessarily, to the supposition, either that he refrained altogether from mentioning the subject upon paper, or that he subsequently destroyed all the writings which had passed upon the occasion. The excepted correspondent was Sir John Macpherson; a series of whose letters to Mr. Addington has been preserved, which proves that he was intimate with M. Otto, and that, during this summer, he was made the occasional channel of amicable and complimentary messages from the French negotiator to the British Prime Minister.

In the first of the above-mentioned letters, dated Brompton, May 2d, Sir John, after congratulating

Mr. Addington on the good news from Egypt, proceeded as follows:—

"I regret that you did not see M. Otto the other evening at the Duchess of Gordon's. He opened much to me then and since. It is impossible to be more pleased than he is with Lord Hawkesbury's conduct towards him; but, as he observed, all that can pass between him and the Secretary of State can only be *official*, and calculated for eventual publication, if the negotiation should be suspended or break off.

"M. Otto is much attached to the merits of your private character, and has given a very favourable impression of your political system to the government of France. He wishes to be presented to you, *not officially*, but as a private man; and, if you give me leave, I will attend him any morning or evening to Downing Street. It was Prince Augustus who first interested me in favour of M. Otto; and the personal esteem of his Royal Highness, which was testified at the court of Berlin, was the cause of M. Otto's nomination to this country. I have made it and will make it an invariable rule to know nothing of the details of M. Otto's negotiation: my conversations with him go not beyond the general principles of the common interests of the European system. I was truly happy to hear him quote a liberal observation of the Duke of Portland relative to the First Consul: it proves that the admirer of Burke has been benefited by your society.

"It will please you to hear, and I am empowered by the Baron de Montesquieu to mention one circumstance to you confidentially. It is, that that worthy grandson of the great author of the Spirit of the Laws, who is a denizen here, and has married a lady of fortune, has been offered by Bonaparte all his hereditary estate and all the rights of a French citizen, on condition of his giving the Consul the remaining manuscripts of the great Montesquieu for publication and the good of mankind."

There is no evidence to show whether the presentation alluded to in the preceding extract was made or not. In the next communication, which is dated June

17th, Sir John Macpherson alludes to certain "official articles," of a friendly character, which had recently appeared in the Moniteur, and attributes "this change of tone in the ruler of France to the confidence felt in Mr. Addington's personal character, to the moderation of his speeches, and especially to a few words of approbation which he had once applied to the conduct of the Chief Consul." Although Sir John Macpherson did not occupy any public position at that period, still the communications which he then held with Mr. Addington are deserving perhaps of some attention on account of the confidence with which he was evidently regarded by M. Otto. Under this impression, the author approaches the letter which Sir John addressed to Mr. Addington from Brompton, on the 14th of August, 1801:—

"Dear Sir,

"M. Otto dined with me yesterday alone after his interview with Lord Hawkesbury, whose manner and polite communication about the Egyptian news have made the best impression on him. * * * M. Otto sent off a despatch last night, and expects his answer in six days. It is no less singular than true, that he, the agent of the enemy, is literally fighting your battle with his own government; while some of our own parties are doing all they can, in *fact*, if not by *design*, to counteract your efforts to animate the spirit of the country, and finally obtain peace—efforts that must prove successful. * * * M. Otto has called upon his own government to abate in its terms. He had, with its subsequent approbation, got it to leave out the proposition about Mysore. He hopes the answer will be favourable to his recommendation of yesterday, as he has declined all responsibility, and wishes to retire if his opinion is not attended to. On the arrival of the answer, he trusts that you will likewise *meet concession* with *some concession*, and then close at once a work which will render the greatest service to your country and mankind. If peace is not very shortly concluded, he

has no hopes of it; the strange speeches of our parliamentary politicians will, he says, prevent its conclusion, and sow the seeds of a war that must be fatal to the two countries and their governments. * * * If you get a peace that fixes our supremacy in India, it will of itself consolidate the union with Ireland; and the more France gains near North America, the more she will excite the jealousy of the United States. * * * An outlet for her commerce and her wild spirit she must have. * * * Without a speedy peace, the union with Ireland will prove our greatest weakness, and the expenditures of distant war will cultivate the fields of revolution at home. This is our danger. * * *

"J. M."

On the second of September, the same party congratulated Mr. Addington "upon the treaty with Russia, in which he had obtained all that was necessary to be gained, and conceded all that could not and ought not to be kept." He then adverted to the still more cogent question of peace with France, which, he contended, "was not so necessary for that country as for England, and of which the failure, or even delay, would plant the war in our bosom, and with it the revolutionary results. You have regularly observed," he proceeds, "in M. Otto's letters, two points on which he lays continued stress: *first*, that if peace is adjusted, it must come chiefly from a confidence in your own personal character and moderation of system; *secondly*, that a short space of time must decide the question. The inference is as obvious as his statements are candid and clear. He has gone over with me every inch of the ground. He is a real friend to peace, and on the proper basis."

M. Otto had evidently impressed Sir John Macpherson with a notion—which, probably, was not very far from the truth—that peace was, at that period, more

essential to England than to France. An anonymous paper, however, entitled "Secret Correspondence," and dated "Paris, September 11th," has been preserved, in which the First Consul is represented as "extremely anxious for the immediate conclusion of peace, if possible, before the end of the French year, which would expire on the 17th of September; as he had pledged himself to the people to give them peace by that time. So confidently, indeed," it added, "did the government anticipate this event, that it was already engaged in preparations for the reduction of St. Domingo." The treaty was now approaching its consummation, though not quite so rapidly as the Chief Consul desired; and the letter from Sir John Macpherson which affords the latest intimation of what was passing behind the curtain of diplomacy, is dated September 29th, two days only before the signatures were affixed.

"My friend," he observes, "was with me this morning. I cannot do justice to his expressions of satisfaction: you will judge of them from a reciprocal sentiment in his favour. I am convinced the greatest good will follow; and I will return happy and silent to my farm. It is interesting that a war originating in the worst passions should find a happy termination in the enemy's confidence and respect in favour of public character in this country. Thanks to what my friend the Chief Baron called 'the body of private character in office.'"

The event which consigned the worthy baronet to his farm, but not, certainly, to silence, occurred on the 1st of October, and was announced by Mr. Hiley Addington to his sister, in the following terms:— "Through the blessing of Providence, peace is restored to us. The preliminaries were signed by Lord

Hawkesbury and M. Otto, this afternoon, on terms highly honourable to Great Britain."

The paucity of communications with his usual correspondents, which has already been mentioned in proof of the importance which Mr. Addington attached to secrecy during the progress of this negotiation, does not extend beyond its termination. It is remarkable, however, that no letter from the King on the subject of the peace has been preserved. Comparing, indeed, the objects of this nine years' struggle with its results, his Majesty, though fully coinciding in the propriety of pacification, could not have found it a topic on which he might write with satisfaction. *

With this single exception, however, the file is crowded with the answers of parties, to whom Mr. Addington had conveyed early intelligence of the important event. Of these, the first in date, as in precedence, was the following from the Prince of Wales: —

"Windsor Castle, Oct. 2d, 1801.

"Many thanks, my dear Sir, for your obliging communication. It is a matter of amazing importance, and upon which I most heartily congratulate you. Every thing, I have no doubt, will smile upon us now. * * * As I am this moment summoned to his Majesty's dinner, excuse my not adding any thing more, except that I am, with the truest regard, dear Sir,

"Ever most sincerely yours, GEORGE P."

The next day brought a letter, couched in similar

* The King, however, has alluded to the peace in a note addressed to Lord Eldon on the 25th of October (Life, vol. i. p. 398.), "as an experiment which he trusted would not be attended with all the evils that some persons might expect."

terms, from the Duke of York. His Royal Highness, however, added a word of business to his congratulations; and thinking that "there might be some points upon which Mr. Addington would wish to take an early decision, offered to call upon him at Wimbledon, or to receive him in town at any time most convenient to him for the purpose."

A crowd of friendly letters followed in the wake of these royal felicitations; the great majority of which cordially approved of the peace, and united in the sentiment that it would establish the Minister's fame with posterity, and entitled him to the thanks of the present generation. Amongst the writers were Count Woronzow, Lord Bathurst, the Bishop of Carlisle, Mr. Ryder, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, Dr. Goddard, and all Mr. Addington's usual correspondents, who described in glowing language the universal approbation with which the news of peace had been received, and expressed their own astonishment, at finding difficulties overcome, which they had learned to regard as insuperable. Mr. Abbot described this event as "one of the highest importance to the whole empire; but to Ireland most essentially necessary, so far as the internal peace and future prosperity of its government were concerned. Defended, he believed, it would have been stoutly and successfully; but, most unquestionably, not without a most sanguinary contest. Now," he proceeds, "that you have laid the foundation of its tranquillity, it will begin to feel those blessings which must flow from the union." Another correspondent of the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee, member for Dungarvon, expressed himself on the subject in the following terms: — "So long as the war continued, the wishes of the disaffected in

this country induced them to look for foreign aid, and nothing but peace could save this devoted land. I well remember, that the last time I had the pleasure of seeing you, talking on the probability of peace, you said you hoped to be able to produce a peace when next you met parliament, or to be able to satisfy your most violent enemies that you have gone as far to procure it as the honour and true interests of England would permit you."* "

The extracts from the correspondence of this period must of necessity be few and brief; yet as it is interesting to know the sentiments of a colleague on so important an occasion, indulgence will surely be granted to the following brief extract from a letter written by the Secretary at War on the 7th of October: — "I cannot adequately express what I feel, when I reflect that you have been destined to be the happy instrument of restoring peace to your country, on honourable and reasonable terms, and that since you have been called to the administration of affairs many things have happened prosperous and glorious to the commonwealth, and nothing adverse. I will say, 'Macte virtute;' and I am persuaded, that by wise and prudent measures every possible advantage will be taken of our situation, every disadvantage provided for, and a well-considered system of defence adapted

* This remark of Mr. Addington must be considered merely as a general explanation of the avowed principles of his government, and not in the light of a confidential disclosure; for the secrecy with which he contrived to envelope the negotiation surprised every one. Even Mr. Bragge, his brother-in-law, wrote, that the "news of the preliminary treaty being signed had quite astounded him."

to our actual position brought forward and acted upon."

The same reason may be assigned for adding the following important opinion extracted from a letter written at this period by Lord Eldon, but, as is too frequently the case in his Lordship's communications, without date: —

"In the course of these two last days' rumination on the subject which has oppressed my mind—the peace—I think I have discovered that we ought to be hanged, and that *parliament* had so *forewarned* us, if we rejected such a peace as we have made. I laboured that point yesterday, But, after all, we must look for much to God's providence. May that always attend you, is the wish of,

"Yours faithfully, ELDON."

Important as it is to hasten onwards, insertion cannot be denied to a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, to the Premier's sister, Mrs. Goodenough. It is dated, "Deal, October 13th," and, after a few words of congratulation, proceeds thus: —

"I hear of no person discontented with the conditions of the treaty, which, indeed, I believe, will be generally approved, except by those who have been so long clamouring for peace, and affirming it could not be purchased too dearly, and who will now, perhaps, be heartily vexed that it has been purchased so cheaply. The news of the signing the preliminaries was an unexpected joy to me, as I had always considered it as a moral impossibility, humanly speaking, that so many interfering claims could ever be adjusted. But it has pleased Almighty God to clear the way through all these difficulties. To him our first thanks are due; and, in the next place, we ought gratefully to acknowledge the spirited exertions and reasonable claims of our governors. Ramsgate was illuminated last night, and Deal is to make its shining display to-morrow. I am told that in France the joy is at

least as enthusiastic as in England. * * * When the peace is settled, it is to be hoped the government will be at leisure to make some discovery of the reasons why, in such universal plenty, the price of provisions of all kinds continues so enormously high; so that, in the midst of abundance, we suffer the hardships of scarcity. All advantages in this world have their counterpoises; and one grievous circumstance in our free government is, the difficulty of bringing rogues to justice, and preventing oppression."

One further extract the reader, however impatient to proceed, will doubtless receive, as a tribute of respect due to the virtues and talents of the writer, Sir Richard Hill, M.P. After a few prefatory observations, the letter, which is dated "Hawkstone, December 23d," proceeds thus: —

"I am fully persuaded that you are placed at the helm to fulfil some great designs of Providence for the national benefit. You have already been the instrument of putting a stop to war and bloodshed, by a peace at which the whole nation rejoices every day more and more; especially since the grounds of the feeble opposition to it have come abroad. Every one now asks, What could we have gained by a continuation of the war? and every one sees that we have obtained all our grand objects. Our excellent constitution is unimpaired; all our allies attended to and even gratified; our commerce more flourishing than ever, and our national credit and glory raised to the highest pitch, with pleasing hope and prospect of a gradual decrease of every burden, and the increase of every blessing. Such is the peace against which some few croakers exercise their wits, or rather, perhaps, their disappointed envy."

Thus the great majority of intelligent and reflecting persons regarded, with gratitude and approbation, the Minister who had put an end to the war without departing from the principles on which it was originally

commenced; and by the terms of peace to which he acceded had proved the moderation of Great Britain, without abandoning any of the important outworks on which the security of her best interests depended. The preponderance of this influential body was further increased by the coincidence of Mr. Fox and his party, who having from the commencement of the revolution deprecated war even when it was inevitable, and advocated peace, when to all but themselves, it appeared unattainable, were in a measure pledged to an approval of the latter whenever and by whomsoever effected. But there was a third class of politicians, few in number, though important from talents and position, who regarded peace at all with a revolutionary government with such rooted aversion, that their concurrence was not to be expected in any conditions, to which it was reasonable to hope that the French authorities would accede. The early activity of these parties in expressing their dissatisfaction at the stipulations of the treaty is alluded to in the following passages extracted from a letter of Dr. Good-enough:—"John Bull," the Doctor observes, on the 8th of October, "began by praising peace on any terms; now he is taught to believe that France should and might have been compelled to give up almost every thing." A letter of the same date from Mr. Tynte, M.P., contains an intimation that the Grenvilles had already declared themselves discontented with the peace; and that this their disapproval of the treaty, two days before even its ratification had been received from Paris, afforded reasonable grounds for conjecture, that it was not so much the *conditions* as the *act* of pacification with which that party was chiefly dissatisfied.

The rumour thus conveyed to Mr. Addington, that he must prepare to relinquish the support of that friend with whom, thirteen years before, he had passed the month of October in such intimacy at Lyme, was shortly confirmed by the following letter from Lord Grenville himself: —

"My dear Sir, Stowe, Oct. 14th, 1801.

"In writing to you on the subject of my other letter, I cannot avoid adding a few words on a point on which my mind at this moment is much occupied.

"When Lord Hawkesbury had the goodness to apprise me of the conditions on which peace had been concluded with France, I did not conceal from him the impressions which the first knowledge of those conditions produced on my mind. The treaty itself has since been published; and after the most deliberate consideration, both of that and of the convention of St. Petersburg, the merits of which I consider as in a great degree connected with it, I feel that public duty will compel me to express in parliament my deep regret at the manner in which both those negotiations have been terminated, and my conviction of the absolute necessity of providing by all possible means of precaution and preparation, against the new and imminent dangers to which I fear the country is exposed. I shall not be in town till a day or two before the meeting; when I come, I will, if you will allow me, state to you more particularly in conversation the grounds of these opinions; but I was unwilling to delay so long apprising you of the determination which, however reluctantly, I have felt myself obliged to adopt. I owe it also to Lord Hobart and Lord Hawkesbury to make to them the same communication; but I have not thought it necessary to trouble them with separate letters, and I trust you will have the goodness to state the circumstance to them. I can with perfect truth assure you that nothing but a sense of indispensable duty could have led me to this separation from those for whom I entertain sentiments of friendship and regard, and whose measures I was most sincerely desirous of

supporting. I beg you to believe me, with these sentiments, my dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

"GRENVILLE."

On receiving the above letter from Lord Grenville, Mr. Addington forwarded it to their mutual friend, Mr. Pitt, at Walmer, and on the succeeding day, addressed to him the following note: —

"My dear Sir, Maiden Early, Oct. 18th, 1801.

"I sent you Lord G.'s letter without comment, though I feel persuaded that it suggested the same, or nearly the same, reflections to each of us. A new scene is now opening, and I incline to think that we shall be driven by the force of circumstances into a situation, with respect to each other, neither unsatisfactory to the country, nor, upon the whole, to ourselves. I may perhaps have attached a meaning to Lord G.'s letter which it was not intended to convey; but when I refer to some expressions contained in it, and to the place from whence it is dated, I cannot believe that my supposition is very wide of the truth. It would be a great relief and satisfaction to me to see you, though I am still more anxious that you should stay at Walmer till the last moment. Every material and useful purpose of our meeting may unquestionably be accomplished if it is not delayed beyond to-morrow or Tuesday se'nnight.

"Yours affectionately, H. A."

If the above letter was written under an apprehension that Lord Grenville's sentiments might possibly have influenced those of Mr. Pitt, the feeling was entirely removed by the reply of the latter, which Mr. Addington informed his brother, in a note dated October 24th, was "completely satisfactory, as was every thing else at that moment." Mr. Pitt's answer, however, cannot be discovered; and there is no room to doubt that it constituted a portion of that "mass of letters," which, as stated in the following

extract from Miss Halsted's diary for March 22d, 1840, Lord Sidmouth told that lady he had destroyed.*

"I had an immense mass of Pitt's letters, and to destroy them was a struggle; but I resolved a few years since to select a portion only, to be preserved as heir-looms in my family. The rest I then burnt, most scrupulously committing to the flames every letter, however interesting, that my conscience told me Pitt would have forbidden to be published had he then been living." †

Greatly as we must admire this decision, so accordant with the whole tenour of Mr. Addington's honourable conduct, it is impossible not to lament that so much important information and such valuable means of removing doubts and explaining difficulties, as this correspondence must have contained, should have been thus irrecoverably lost.

To proceed however with the narrative; Lord Grenville's explanation was closely succeeded by one of similar import from Mr. Windham, who declined Mr. Addington's invitation to the dinner usually given by the Prime Minister to his supporters the day previous to the commencement of a session, in the following friendly terms: —

* It was during this visit that his Lordship consented, at Miss Halsted's request, to accept the compliment of the dedication of her valuable and elaborate historical work, the "Life of King Richard the Third."

† One of the occasions of *auto-da-fé* occurred about the 4th of December, 1809, when his Lordship reported to Mr. Bathurst "The destruction of 100 quires of MS. papers, in effecting which, many interesting circumstances were brought to his recollection."

"My dear Sir, Pall Mall, Friday evening, 23d.

"I have found your card on my return to town, inviting me to dine with you on Wednesday. I will not send a formal answer, but state to you in this way, that with the feelings which I have about the late measure I should not be a fit guest upon such an occasion, nor could, I think, with propriety or comfort, be one of the company that is likely to be assembled on that day. You will enter, I am sure, very readily into this sentiment, and not think it inconsistent in any degree with those feelings of personal regard with which I am ever, dear Sir, yours very truly,

"W. WINDHAM."

As the absorbing topic of the peace must of necessity be resumed at a later period, the reader probably will not now object to its temporary postponement, whilst the author avails himself of the opportunity to commence another stage of his biographical journey.

CHAPTER XV.

1801.

Sale of Woodley Lodge. Return of Lord Nelson. Anecdote. Letters. Meeting of Parliament. Colonel Wodehouse. Addresses carried nearly unanimously. Letters from Mr. Ryder — Sir J. Mitford. Mutiny in Bantry Bay. Mr. Bragge, Treasurer of Navy. Parliamentary Business — Army and Navy Estimates. New Loan. Poor Law. Mr. Addington objects to Parties receiving Relief wearing Badges. Mr. Erskine to Mr. Bond. Trial of Governor Wall. Promotions on Lord Clare's Death — Sir J. Mitford — Mr. Abbot. Difficulties in conducting the Irish Government. Union Promises. — Difference with Lord Hardwicke. Duke of York on the French Plan for invading Ireland. Correspondence with Mr. Abbot — Irish Arrangements. Appointment of Mr. Wickham as Secretary for Ireland. Meeting of Parliament, Feb. 2d — Debate on Army Estimates. Offence taken by Mr. Pitt at Mr. Addington's not defending him. Civil List Debts — Prince of Wales's Claims. Mr. Addington defends Commercial Pursuits against Mr. Windham. Sir Edward Law, Chief Justice — His Letter to Mr. Addington. Dr. Huntingford, Bishop of Gloucester. Dr. Goodenough, Dean of Rochester. Mr. H. Addington, Clerk of the Pells.

THROUGH the bounty of a gracious Providence the deficiencies of the two preceding years had now been supplied by a most abundant season. The Minister, therefore, could meet the national constituency under favourable circumstances of peace and plenty; and as the new posture of affairs presented numerous and

weighty subjects for deliberation, he advised the King to assemble the parliament on the 29th of October, an earlier day than had usually been selected.

The correspondence presents ample proof that the difficulties of the Premier's position had been by no means terminated by the peace, whilst his labours probably had, in the first instance, been thereby increased. We learn, however, from one of the King's notes to him, that, on the 18th of October, he found leisure to visit Woodley, for the purpose of making his final arrangements prior to the disposal of that favourite retreat.

About the same period he enjoyed one of the few gratifications resulting from the situation he held — that of promoting meritorious individuals to offices of public utility, by selecting, in conjunction with the Chancellor of Oxford, the Duke of Portland, the learned and amiable Dr. Beeke for the professorship of modern history in the University, rendered vacant by Dr. Nowell's death.

The remaining period of leisure, before the commencement of the session, was chiefly occupied by Mr. Addington in arranging with the Duke of York, and the principals of other departments, the measures consequent on the termination of hostilities, and in endeavouring, with the assistance of Lord Hardwicke, Mr. Abbot, and Colonel Littlehales, to find some remedy for the interminable difficulties regarding the government of Ireland, which appear to have sprung up then, as now, with the rapidity attributed in fable to the heads of the hydra.

On Lord Nelson's return to England from his glorious services at Copenhagen, an interview ensued

between his Lordship and Mr. Addington, to which the latter was fond of referring in after years. The conversation turning on the circumstance of Nelson's having continued the action after the admiral had made the signal of recall, Mr. Addington told him he was a bold man to disregard the orders of his superior: to which he replied, that any one may be depended upon under ordinary circumstances, but that the man of real value was he who would persevere at all risks, and under the heaviest responsibility; "but," he added, "in the midst of it all I depended upon you; for I knew that, happen what might, if I did my duty you would stand by me."

When relating this anecdote Mr. Addington used to remark, that "he felt the confidence thus reposed in him, by such a man, on such an occasion, as one of the highest compliments he had ever received."*

The pleasing impression of this conversation induced Mr. Addington to seek, in the following note, a similar gratification on Nelson's coming to town, after striking his flag on the peace, to take his seat in parliament:—

"My dear Lord, Wimbledon, Oct. 26th.

"* * * Having just seen your card, I conclude that you will continue in town at least during the present week; and, in that case, I trust that it may be convenient to your Lordship to take the trouble of calling in Downing Street either on Thursday or Saturday morning, between ten and eleven o'clock. It will give me great pleasure to see and to converse with you, after the very interesting occurrences of the last three months. I am ever, &c. &c.,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

* From family recollections.

Further evidence of the ripening intimacy between these parties occurs in the correspondence of the ensuing month, when Nelson is found confidentially consulting the Prime Minister respecting a letter which he proposed to address to the Lord Mayor, and receiving from him the following judicious advice:—

"Having always expressed my opinions to you without reserve, I feel persuaded that no apology will be necessary for the freedom with which I acknowledge my anxiety, that, on the subject in question, no letter, be the terms of it what they may, be written by your Lordship to the Lord Mayor. It could be productive of no good, and might, and (I firmly believe) would, lead to serious embarrassments. The grounds of this persuasion I shall be ready to state to you whenever you will do me the favour of calling in Downing Street. They are not merely of a public nature, but are connected with the interest I shall ever take in your well-earned fame, and with the true regard with which I am, &c. &c.,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."*

Mr. Addington now completed his preparations for the meeting of parliament. The preliminary treaty with France, the convention with Russia, and the abundant harvest, were naturally the topics chiefly dwelt upon in the speech delivered from the throne. The members he selected to move and second the addresses on this joyful occasion were Lords Bolton and Lilford in the Upper House, and Lord Lovaine and the Hon. Colonel Wodehouse, eldest son of his old and valued friend, Lord Wodehouse, in the Lower.

The addresses were very ably advocated by their

* Unfortunately, Lord Nelson did not receive this answer until he had despatched his letter to the Lord Mayor. In obedience, however, to Mr. Addington's advice, and that of some other friends, he afterwards recalled it.

chosen supporters in both Houses, and carried with an unanimity long unknown: it is recorded indeed in the correspondence, on the authority of General Rooke, "that he had never seen any thing like the cordiality which the parliament manifested on the occasion." The peace was received with a satisfaction almost universal; the great political rivals uniting, though from opposite reasons, in its favour; and Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, each in his own House, standing alone, like a solitary mourner, in the midst of general exultation.

As the two treaties constituted at that period the prominent objects in the political horizon, they were again separately and fully discussed in both Houses: that with France on the 3d and 4th of November, and that with the northern powers on the 13th of the same month. The only division, however, that took place occurred in the House of Lords, on the address in approval of the former treaty, which was carried by a majority of 114 to 10; and on that occasion "the Duke of Norfolk told the Duke of Beaufort that he was determined to stay to the end of the debate, as it was many years since he had enjoyed the satisfaction of voting in the majority." Both questions were passed unanimously by the Commons, as was also the remaining one by the Peers. As the arguments employed in these debates are to be found in all the histories of the period, and as it will be necessary to give an analysis of the whole subject, including the substance of Lord Cornwallis's and Colonel Littlehale's correspondence, when the treaty of Amiens shall come under review, nothing further would now be said, if it did not seem desirable briefly to point out those

speakers whose altered tone appeared to indicate a change in their sentiments towards the government.

Amongst the Peers, then, Lords Grenville and Spencer, and, singular to add, the *Bishop* of Rochester, objected to the treaty with France; whilst Lord Moira spoke in favour of it. Of the Commons, Lords Leveson Gower and Temple, Messrs. Windham, T. Grenville, Elliot, and Dr. Lawrence, expressed themselves strongly in condemnation; Mr. Grey guardedly approved, and Messrs. Hobhouse, Tierney, and Erskine, gave an honourable and cordial assent. It will be found that the support which the two last-mentioned statesmen rendered to the Minister some time afterwards produced negotiations which led, in the instance of Mr. Tierney, to his acceptance of office.

As the remaining parliamentary proceedings at this period were unimportant, the opportunity will be taken to mention a few subjects of a miscellaneous character, which claim a passing notice. On the 27th of October Mr. Dudley Ryder, now the Earl of Harrowby, addressed a letter to the Premier, announcing, in terms highly creditable to the writer, his resignation of the office of Treasurer of the Navy, on the ground of ill health: "—

"Being at present," he observed, "totally unfit for service, it had become equally inconsistent with the footing upon which he had ever wished to hold office, and unfair to the government for whose strength he was truly anxious, to lie superfluous on the stage without credit to himself or utility to the public. He had therefore nothing left but to beg that Mr. Addington would consider him as dead in law, and would supply the place of the departed as soon as it might suit his convenience. You have shown me," he proceeds, "marks of personal kindness which I can never forget; and you were, I

well remember, partial enough to think that I might have been of service to you in higher situations; I feel, therefore, the more mortified to be obliged to withdraw even from that which I retained, and to break the chain of official attachment, when I might still have had the pleasure I have so long enjoyed of supporting the Minister with the feelings of a friend. * * * The *otium cum dignitate* which you have procured for the country will smooth so many difficulties, that, in spite of the opposition from some quarters, which I hear of with surprise and concern, you will, I trust, have a tolerably quiet session. In every situation believe me, dear Sir,

"Very sincerely yours, D. RYDER."

At the back of another letter from the same writer, dated May 22d, 1801, these words occur in Lord Sidmouth's handwriting: —

"Given to me by Mr. Ryder when I called upon him in Somerset Place, at which time there appeared to be no prospect of his recovery.

"S."

Fortunately these apprehensions proved groundless; and at the end of forty-five years the venerable nobleman is still spared to his family and his country, having survived, with a single exception, all his more robust contemporaries of the Addington administration.

On the 5th of November the Speaker, Sir J. Mitford, addressed a letter to Mr. Addington on the comparative produce of the harvests of 1800 and 1801, which is remarkable for the following passage, showing that the disgrace of that atrocious crime rick-burning does not attach exclusively to the present generation: — "I am sorry to say the practice of firing stacks continues. A very respectable farmer

in the neighbourhood of Redesdale has had seventeen stacks thus maliciously destroyed; and though a substantial man, is greatly distressed by the loss. I cannot help thinking it would be useful to give notice by proclamation of the King's determination to punish such offenders, and reward discoverers of the crime." Amongst the almost numberless subjects of secondary importance which occupied the Prime Minister's attention at this period, were, first, the completion of Lord Wellesley's plan for the establishment of a college at Calcutta, and the selection of suitable professors; secondly, a difficult and delicate arrangement with the executive government in Ireland on the subject of patronage, which nearly led to Lord Hardwicke's resignation; and, thirdly, the suppression and punishment of the mutineers in the ships in Bantry Bay. On this last occasion, the vigour and decision of the government were strikingly displayed. The mutiny originated in a squadron of ships lying in Bantry Bay, which it had been found necessary to order to the West Indies, to form a counterpoise to the armament which the French had despatched for the reduction of St. Domingo. The misguided crews refused to weigh anchor, except for the purpose of sailing to England, on the plea that they were entitled to their discharge on the signature of the preliminary treaty; but the mutiny was immediately suppressed, through the firmness of the officers and invariable fidelity of the marines; and the ringleaders in Rear Admiral Campbell's ship, the Temeraire, were seized and reserved for trial. The most prompt and efficacious measures were pursued by the government on receipt of this intelligence. The mutiny only

reached its height on the 11th of December; yet on the 16th it was determined to send Admiral Cornwallis in the Ville de Paris to Bear Haven, with full powers to assemble a court martial, and to carry the sentence of death, if passed, into execution.*

This measure, however, was afterwards found unnecessary; and on the 26th of December the squadron sailed for Portsmouth, where, early in January, twenty of the unhappy criminals were found guilty of a crime which eleven of them expiated with their lives, six of whom were executed on the 15th, whilst their comrades were employed in preparing to sail for the West Indies. During the progress of these events, it was deemed advisable that the parliament should not separate for the usual Christmas recess. The period, therefore, between the 28th of December and the 19th of January, in which the trials and executions had occurred, was occupied by three short adjournments, proposed by the Prime Minister, who, stating on the latter day that the reason for this unusual proceeding had now entirely ceased, moved a longer adjournment to the 2d of February. The mystery observed on this occasion led to conjectures that the negotiations with France were not proceeding favourably; but it is clearly shown in the correspondence that the mutiny was the sole inducement for keeping the parliament assembled.

Amidst the cares by which the serenity of the Prime Minister's mind may have been disturbed, Mr. Addington had the gratification of appointing his

* The squadron consisted of the Temeraire (in which ship alone any positive outbreak took place), Windsor Castle, Orion, and Achilles, line-of-battle ships, and four frigates.

brother-in-law, Mr. Bragge, to the treasurership of the navy, *vice* the Hon. Dudley Ryder, and of introducing that gentleman's superior talents and knowledge to the secret councils of his sovereign. This last step was taken with the entire concurrence of the King, who "very much approved of Mr. Bragge being admitted of the privy council, as he could not by any means allow him to stand in a less conspicuous light than any of his predecessors."

The author now retraces his steps for the purpose of briefly reviewing Mr. Addington's proceedings in parliament. The grand subject of discussion during the session—the treaty of peace—being reserved for future consideration, the next business which Mr. Addington brought before the House was the army and navy estimates, in which he had very judiciously made provision for the same amount of forces by land and sea, as if the country were still involved in war; observing, however, in explanation, that credit was only taken for three months from the 3d of January, and that it was merely a precautionary measure, to which he trusted the government would not again be obliged to resort. The obvious policy of this step having entirely disarmed opposition, Mr. Addington, on the 12th of November, proceeded to the discharge of another duty, by moving the thanks of the House to the officers, soldiers, and seamen by whom the conquest of Egypt had been achieved, and who had, by their valour, conduct, and perseverance, contributed materially to the peace in which all so heartily rejoiced. "The contest," he observed, "has now closed; the sword is sheathed in its scabbard; and God grant it may be so for ever! But if at any future

time it should be necessary to unsheath it, and their country should again call forth the services of her brave soldiers and seamen, he had no hesitation in saying that the same ardent patriotism which had so eminently distinguished their brave countrymen in Egypt would string every nerve and rouse every energy to emulate an example so glorious, and victories so honourable to their country." A motion on such a subject and thus recommended, it need scarcely be said, was unanimously adopted.

On the 16th of November, in a committee of ways and means, in fulfilment of his special duty as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Addington proposed funding eight millions and a half of outstanding exchequer bills, by the creation of an additional amount of omnium, consisting of 25*l.* of consolidated stock, 25*l.* of reduced ditto, 25*l.* of new fives ditto, 50*l.* of four per cents. ditto, and 1*s.* 9*d.* long annuity ditto; the whole amounting to 125*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* stock; which sum was to be given for every 100*l.* exchequer bill. Taking the various descriptions of stock at the prices of the day, this was offering a premium of only 2*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* on every 100*l.*; and these terms were considered so advantageous, that the resolutions embracing them were passed by the House with general approbation.

In a committee of supply, on the 20th of November, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed the sum of 12,500*l.* for secret service money, instead of the 35,000*l.* which had been voted by a former resolution. This considerate regard to economy was also received with approbation by the whole House. On the 24th of the same month we find him supporting

with a generous indignation a bill for relieving overseers from the penalties of the 8th & 9th William III., for giving parochial relief to poor persons not wearing a badge. "He was astonished," he said, "that any gentleman should advocate delay on such a subject. The question was, whether those whose poverty made relief not an act of bounty but of justice should be compelled to wear a badge of servitude. Reflecting upon the exemplary conduct of the poor, he was sure he would not be told that without a badge they must go without relief. He was grieved at the opposition made to such a question." Well, indeed, might he be grieved to find in the nineteenth century any one willing to subject "a bold peasantry—their country's pride"—to an indignity which stamped poverty, from whatever cause resulting, not as a misfortune, but a crime; and designated the virtuous and industrious poor with the same mark of infamy as the idle and profane. Regarding the regulation in a religious point of view, it seems astonishing that it should have disgraced the statute book so long; and still more so, that so late as 1801 any one could be found in the House of Commons disposed to uphold it.

On the same evening Mr. Addington replied to Sir William Pulteney, who had moved the House on the subject of granting increased facilities to private trade with India, in a very able speech, giving parliament to understand that he had made arrangements with the Company to that effect for two years, as an experiment; after which further provisions might, if expedient, be resorted to.

On the 24th of November, and the 4th and 14th of December, Mr. Addington successfully supported a

resolution brought forward by Mr. Nicholas Vansittart, for opening the distilleries, which had been closed in consequence of the scarcity of preceding years, for all descriptions of grain excepting wheat. He stated the great importance of encouraging agriculture; denied that the consumption occasioned by the distilleries would materially raise the price of corn; and contended that, even were this to be the case, it would lower the price of meat to a much greater extent. "The policy of our ancestors," he said, "had been to encourage importation of corn by granting bounties; but our policy happily was that which, by increasing our own productiveness, rendered us independent of other nations, and thus secured us against want." He alluded, lastly, to the evils of illicit distillation, which the bill before the House would entirely prevent; and asserted that most of the petitions against it then lying on the table proceeded from places in which clandestine distillation was carried on to a surprising extent. This information he had derived from the venerable Lord Fife, who informed him from Edinburgh that "the petitions presented from the different corporations in that country, to prohibit the opening the distilleries, really took their rise from corresponding societies courting popularity, and, if acceded to, would discourage our own farmers, and not increase the quantity of grain."

The final carrying of the question by a majority of sixty-two, led to Mr. Addington's receiving two letters, one from Lord Sheffield, thanking him "for his firm resistance to prejudice and ignorance;" and another from Mr. William Smith, M. P. for Norwich, acknow-

ledging, in grateful terms, "as one of the body of hereditary malt distillers, an obligation for the manner in which he had expressed himself respecting them collectively, which could not but give them the greatest pleasure, because, in those points with which the public were concerned, they knew it to be generally deserved."

No other business of importance having occurred in the House until after the recess, which was extended to the 2d of February, the author closes his notice of this eventful year with the subjoined document, from which it appears that during the Christmas vacation friendly communications passed between the Premier and Mr. Erskine. No further explanation of the letter than what it bears on its face can now be afforded: it is only valuable, therefore, as expressing its eminent writer's approbation of the general principles of Mr. Addington's government: —

Mr. Erskine to Nathaniel Bond, Esq., one of the Lords of the Treasury.

"My dear Nat., Dec. 28th, 1801.

"I cannot feel quite easy till I give you distinctly, under my hand, what I stated to you in general in the morning. I never considered for a moment, from any thing that passed between Mr. Addington and me in our recent conversation, that he had changed any of his opinions, or relinquished any of the principles which he ever gave countenance or sanction to by his public conduct in parliament; neither did I consider that Mr. Addington asked me to make a surrender of any of my opinions which I had conscientiously entertained and acted upon; but it did appear to me, and does still appear, that a change of the circumstances which brought these differences of opinion into daily and public action was likely to enable me conscientiously to sup-

port his administration. I thought, and still think, that my duty to the public would exact it from me, in order to give repose to the nation, and to prevent its being replunged into war by the bickerings of contending opinions upon subjects that are past: I thought, and think still, that Mr. Addington's temper and character were most happily constituted to produce the best consequences to the country: I thought, and think, that he had great confidence to expect from the public from the manner in which he had made the peace; and I thought, and think, that I might safely confide in him as a private man from his personal honour and character, and for the esteem which he had uniformly expressed for me for many years past, notwithstanding the differences of opinion which we entertained upon particular subjects, and which we still entertain. This last circumstance is little known to the world, but has been long felt by me; and I am, indeed, in possession of letters from Mr. Addington, expressing the best regard and good opinion, long before I was engaged as counsel to the late Mr. Sutton, in a matter which greatly interested your friend. I considered, therefore, and do consider, that Mr. Addington's communication with me arose from having previously heard my public sentiments as I independently communicated them in the House of Commons: that it appeared to him that he had a right to expect, from the free operation of these sentiments, an honourable support of the measures he meant to pursue, which I never for a moment either did or could consider as any abandonment of principles or opinions on his part; and I lastly considered, and do consider, that Mr. Addington felt, as he ought to do, the very high station I have maintained for four-and-twenty years in the profession; and that he further felt a satisfaction, from private regard, in expressing the pleasure it would give him to see me serving the public on stations which my birth and acquired place rendered fit for me. All this I thought, and think, was perfectly fit and honourable on his part and on mine; but I have no difficulty in saying, that the private regard I really feel for him made my feelings very different at first than if my communication had been with a stranger; though, even had we been strangers, my conduct must have

been the same, though my sensations would have been different. To conclude, my dear Nat., you may rely upon it, that whatever public events may take place, whether Mr. Addington's power shall continue or pass away, I shall always do justice to his honour and consistency as it regards me; and you know that, when I think myself in the right, I am not to be forced off my ground even by my own interest, much less by the opinions of others.

"Yours ever, T. ERSKINE.

"I do not consider this letter as at all confidential, because it is the plain and simple and unchangeable truth."

An event which painfully occupied the Minister's attention at the commencement of the year was the conviction of Governor Wall, for causing the death of a sergeant at Goree nearly twenty years before, through excessive punishment. The case of this unhappy convict was anxiously considered by the government; and as no favourable circumstances appeared in it, he underwent the sentence of the law on the 28th of January, amidst the vindictive and disgraceful shouts of numerous spectators. Speaking of this event, many years afterwards, Lord Sidmouth observed: — "In the case of Governor Wall, Lord Eldon said, 'he would not say he ought to be hanged, and he would not say he ought not.' He *was* hanged," added Lord Sidmouth, in that calm tone which marked the mild decision of his character.

On the day of the above-mentioned tragedy, another circumstance occurred — the death of Lord Clare, Lord Chancellor of Ireland — which led to several important arrangements, in which Mr. Addington manifested his usual judgment and discrimination.

The great seal of Ireland he offered, in exchange for the speakership, to his old friend, Sir John Mitford; who, after expressing his doubts and fears on the subject, in a long and confidential letter dated February 3d, concludes it by submitting his final acceptance or rejection of the proposal to the decision of the Premier. This reference to the opinion of him by whom the original offer had been made, was, of course, equivalent to acceptance; and, consequently, on the 10th of February, the Speaker exchanged the chair for the chancellorship of Ireland; the vacancy in the former office being supplied by the Minister's confidential friend, Mr. Abbot, the invaluable Chief Secretary for Ireland. There was a peculiar felicity in this interchange of appointments between the two countries as regarded the recent union, which was happily pointed out by Mr. Ormsby, an Irish member, in his address to the House on the evening of Mr. Abbot's election. "The nomination," he said, "of their recent Speaker to the chancellorship of Ireland was a strong proof of the cordial interest which was taken by this part of the empire in the welfare of the other. There was something equally gratifying to Ireland in the motion for a successor to that right honourable gentleman; but he must be allowed to say she paid dearly for that gratification, since she would lose the assistance of as persevering, diligent, and unbiassed a friend as ever administered the affairs of that country." No compliment of such a nature could be better deserved than was this by Mr. Abbot, who had laboured with consummate ability and perseverance in applying the principles of the Union to every branch of the Irish government. And here a favourable occasion is presented for briefly

abstracting, from the correspondence, the heads of business transacted between Mr. Addington and the Irish executive during this autumn and winter. So numerous, indeed, were the changes necessary to "prove," as Mr. Addington observed, "that the Union had really taken place," that they almost amounted to a totally new system of government. The ordnance and other public boards, for instance, required to be consolidated, and the duties of the various functionaries, from the Lord Lieutenant himself to the most subordinate officers, to be defined, and their privileges and patronage ascertained. At one period a difference, which almost occasioned Lord Hardwicke's resignation, arose between the Irish government and the authorities of the home office, respecting the distribution of the higher patronage of the Crown; and no sooner was this source of anxiety removed, than others arose, occasioned by the eagerness of rival candidates to obtain the good-will and patronage of the government, and to receive representative peerages, and seats in the House of Commons. On all these points the indefatigable Chief Secretary constantly referred to Mr. Addington, whose love of justice and firm but conciliatory disposition peculiarly adapted him to the office of a pacificator; and who acted with so much discretion, and was so ably seconded by others, that, in a short time, these delicate and complicated questions were settled, mostly, it is believed, on the same footing upon which they have since remained. An arrangement with the Secretary of State, whose claims would have placed the Viceroy of Ireland in a position scarcely differing from that of a lord lieutenantcy of a county, appeared to Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Abbot so desirable, that

they despatched Colonel Littlehales on a special mission to England to effect it. This step, which appears to have been attended with the desired result, is alluded to in the following passage of a letter from Mr. Addington to his friend, Mr. Charles Yorke, half brother of Lord Hardwicke, dated "Downing Street, Nov. 27th. A short respite from the pressure of business has afforded me an opportunity of reading Lord Hardwicke's comments on the papers sent from hence by Colonel Littlehales." * The letter then alludes to his Lordship's contemplated resignation in the following terms:—"These papers have strongly confirmed the opinion I have ever entertained of the mind and disposition of Lord Hardwicke, and consequently have increased my anxiety that the ultimate arrangement may be such as will enable his Lordship to continue his services in Ireland consistently with what he feels to be due to his personal and official station, and to what he may deem essential to the interests of the public."

Scarcely had the question of the executive government of Ireland been settled, than another arose respecting the management of the legislative business of that country in the House of Commons. This is the subject of an elaborate letter to the Premier from Mr. Abbot, who was decidedly of opinion that such duty could only be effectively performed by the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

* This gentleman had been private secretary to Marquis Cornwallis when his Lordship was in Ireland. Valuable as his services were in that country, he was speedily required to exercise them in a higher sphere, having accompanied his former patron in the same capacity to Amiens.

The promises made by Marquis Cornwallis at the period of the Union constituted another source of difficulty and anxiety to the government, and are frequently mentioned in the correspondence of this period, as being productive of much and increasing inconvenience. "We are perplexed," Mr. Abbot observes on one occasion, "by Lord Cornwallis's promises:" "allow me to remind you," he says on another, "that the seat is claimed in satisfaction of an union engagement."

The arrangements consequent on the peace, especially the time and mode of disbanding the regulars, militia, and yeomanry, which last, in Ireland alone, constituted a force of 40,000 infantry, and 12,000 cavalry, came also at this time under consideration, when it was wisely determined that no reduction whatever should be made until after the conclusion of the definitive treaty. The necessity for this precaution is clearly shown in the subjoined letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to whose inspection Mr. Addington submitted the First Consul's plan for the invasion of Ireland, which had been communicated by Col. Littlehales from Amiens:—

"Dear Sir, York House, Dec. 9th, 1801.

"Many thanks for your obliging communication of Lieut.-Colonel Littlehale's very interesting letter. The intended plan* for the invasion of Ireland was boldly but judiciously

* This plan is described in a letter from Colonel Littlehales to Mr. Addington, dated, Paris, Nov. 29th, which is much too long for insertion. The idea was, to effect a descent on Ireland with 25,000 veteran troops, of whom 15,000 were to have landed in Galway Bay, and to push from thence to Athlone, and from

conceived; and though, certainly, there were many chances against its ultimate success, yet there is no doubt that, with good fortune, a landing might have been effected.

"The enemy seems to have been perfectly informed of our force; and, by the supposition that Great Britain would not dare to send any reinforcement to Ireland, we may fairly conjecture that their intention was at least to alarm, if not to attempt an invasion of this country at the same time.

"This more and more proves the necessity of keeping up a large force for the protection of the United Kingdom; as also making such fortifications, particularly in Ireland, as may preclude the enemy, in case of a first success, from traversing the country and pushing forward upon the capital, before an adequate force can be assembled to oppose them.

"Should you have had time to look over the paper which I sent you upon the proposed peace establishment of the army, I shall be very happy to have the pleasure of talking it over with you at any time most convenient to you. Believe me ever, dear Sir,

"Yours most sincerely, FREDERICK."

The reader will now be presented with one of Mr. Addington's confidential communications to Mr. Abbot, as the best mode of conveying a correct idea of that Minister's policy towards Ireland, and of the multiplicity of questions which arose there to perplex him.

"My dear Sir, Wimbledon, Oct. 16th.

"I am thoroughly convinced of the expediency of repealing the Martial Law Bill upon the signing of the definitive

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Athlone to Dublin; 3000 in the neighbourhood of Cork city, 3000 near Wexford, 2500 in Lough Swilly, and 1500 in the county of Mayo. The escorting fleet was, by all expedients, to avoid risking an action; but, in case of extremity, was to have enabled the army to land, "by engaging the British fleet."

treaty of peace; and of discontinuing, in the interim, all proceedings under that bill, except in cases which I trust will not occur. I also think, with you, that the military force in Ireland, which it is not intended to keep up, should be disbanded *gradually*; and this applies to the militia as well as to the regulars: after their military services are over, and before they are discharged, they cannot be employed so usefully as in public works such as you have described. * * * It is my earnest wish that there should be a numerous attendance in parliament on the first day of the session; but it will be of extreme importance on Tuesday the 3d of November, when the preliminaries of peace will probably be taken into consideration. * * * It would, on all accounts (except as far as the business of the Irish government and Lord Hardwicke's comfort and convenience are concerned), be a great satisfaction to me to see you at an early period of the session; but I cannot *urge* your attendance, considering the destination of Colonel Littlehales, with whom, I am sure, Lord Hardwicke will part with regret.

"The arrangement with Pole, respecting Queen's county, fully meets my wishes. * * * My mind is greatly relieved, as you must suppose; but it is not yet free from solicitude, as much remains to be done before we can bring the ship safe into port. Believe me, &c. &c.,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

The management of the revenues in Ireland was another matter respecting which the heads of the two governments effected great improvements; and it was with reference especially to this subject that Mr. Brooke, M.P. for Donegal, observed in the House on the 28th of December, that he "with pleasure bore testimony to the attention which the Chancellor of the Exchequer paid to the concerns and interests of Ireland." A letter from Mr. Abbot, bearing date January 5th, 1802, announced to the Minister that all the new arrangements for the several boards of re-

venue, stamps, and accounts, had been completed, and only awaited his (Mr. Addington's) and Lord Pelham's confirmation. The writer then proceeds as follows: — "I have the satisfaction to think that, when they are thus settled, you will find a large accession of revenue without any new taxes, from the mere regulation of these departments upon principles of assimilation to the British practice, which you will be pleased to hear is universally received as a conclusive reason for every measure which it is found expedient to adopt."

In his reply, dated January 11th, Mr. Addington stated, that "Lord Pelham had been out of town for several days, and that he was waiting for his Lordship's return with some impatience, chiefly on account of the urgency of those points respecting which a decision had been so long wished and expected by Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Abbot." The writer concluded his letter with the following words: — "Before the expiration of this month I trust it may suit your convenience and that of Lord Hardwicke, that you should transfer your quarters from Dublin to London. I shall rejoice to see you, as we shall have much to talk over. Much good has, I trust, been done on both sides of the water; much, however, remains to be accomplished." Mr. Abbot's valuable services in Ireland now reached their close, since, on the 11th of January, he announced to Mr. Addington the dangerous illness of Lord Clare, whose death on the 28th of the same month opened to him the chair of the House of Commons. Mr. Abbot was succeeded as Chief Secretary for Ireland by Mr. William Wickham, a gentleman honourably distinguished for his services

on several occasions, whom Mr. Addington had for some time marked out for employment. Mr. Wickham had recently been engaged in a most delicate and difficult commission for the investigation of accounts at Vienna; and a letter addressed by him to Mr. Addington on the 14th of December has been preserved, in which he declined, both for his wife and himself, any pension for his services, and pointed out admission to the privy council as the most gratifying reward he could receive. In the same letter he intimated the probability of his being shortly employed by Mr. Addington's administration on foreign service, as he hoped, on the embassy to Berlin. His talents, however, and habits of business, having recommended him to the Minister as the most suitable successor to Mr. Abbot, on the 13th of January he was admitted to the desired honour of a privy counsellor, in company with Messrs. Charles Long and George Rose, the well-known friends and favourites of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Wickham was himself the intimate confidant of Lord Grenville; and the promotion of these three gentlemen is here mentioned to show the manner in which Mr. Addington still exercised his cordial feelings towards the members of the late government, even after one of them had gone into opposition.

On Tuesday, February 2d, the imperial parliament re-assembled; and on the 5th Mr. Addington called the attention of the House to the extraordinaries of the army, which, in consequence partly of the protraction of the war in Egypt, and partly by an unexpected excess in the bills drawn on account of the West Indies, which the government intended to investigate by means of a commission, presented a

deficiency of about two millions; and he concluded by proposing a vote of 2,000,000*l.* towards the reduction of the navy debt, and 1,847,174*l.* to defray extra expenses of the army incurred in 1801. Nothing particular occurred in the debate of that evening; but on Monday, the 8th, Mr. Tierney, in commenting on the deficiency, for which, acquitting the present ministers, he regarded the late ones as responsible, dropped some expressions which occasioned the first momentary interruption of that intimate union which had subsisted between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington since they entered public life together in 1784. The former and Mr. Tierney, who now began strongly to support the Minister, by whom his talents as a debater were highly estimated, appear still to have regarded each other with unfriendly feelings, a circumstance which possibly had somewhat predisposed Mr. Pitt to take offence on this occasion. Mr. Tierney's expressions, as given in the Parliamentary Register, notwithstanding he guarded himself by saying that "he had no idea of uttering a single word that could be supposed to reflect on the personal integrity of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer," were, it must be admitted, sufficiently severe: he contrasted the conduct of the present and the late Minister in a manner highly disadvantageous to the latter, accusing him of "too loose an expenditure of the public money;" "of neglect in the superintendence of expeditions, and of remissness in the inspection of accounts." He then blamed Mr. Pitt, "whom he regretted not to see in his place, for holding back so many charges until the peace, by which he had thrown a burthen upon his successor, who had

now the odium of applying for four or five millions of money to provide for expenses which his predecessor had incurred. I have not," he added, "the delicacy of the Right Honourable Gentleman, which restrains him from complaining of such treatment; I say he has been hardly and cruelly used." At the close of this declamation Mr. Steele immediately rose "in defence of his absent friend, who had designedly kept nothing back, and who had not found it necessary to make such an application to parliament as the present, because there had been no exceeding in his accounts, his estimates having nearly coincided with the expense." Mr. Pitt was afterwards defended very successfully by Mr. W. Dundas; and, in truth, the attack was altogether so feeble and general, that even now it hardly appears necessary that Mr. Addington should have said any thing more in refutation of it than he is reported to have said, namely, that "With respect to the imputations thrown on the conduct of the Right Honourable Gentleman who was his predecessor, charging him with concealing or keeping back from the House any part of the public accounts with a sinister or deceptious view, he totally denied that it was founded on fact." That these words were understood by the House as justificatory of Mr. Pitt is shown by the following extract from the speech of Mr. Robson, who rose later in the evening in support of Mr. Tierney: — "He felt extremely alarmed at the manner in which the present Chancellor of the Exchequer identified himself with the late Chancellor. He had gone so far as to justify his accounts, and say they were such as he (the present Chancellor) approved, and ought not to be censured." Mr. Adding-

ton's explanation, however, by no means satisfied Mr. Pitt, who, brooding over the debates in his retirement at Walmer, and deceived possibly by some misrepresentation of the circumstances, wrote immediately in great displeasure to his friend. By means of candid explanation, this cloud speedily passed away; yet as Mr. Pitt's letters on the occasion indicate suspicion, which is the first step in that downward path which leads from friendship to alienation, they will prove of importance to the author, when fulfilling the perplexing duty which lies before him, of accounting, without disparagement to either, for the altered feelings with which for a time those honourable and virtuous statesmen subsequently regarded each other. He will proceed, therefore, to present them to his readers, in confirmation of the idea he has already suggested, that this unhappy estrangement was chiefly attributable to the false position in which Mr. Pitt placed his friend and himself by his abrupt retirement from office.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Addington.

"Walmer Castle, Wednesday, Feb. 10th, 1802.

"My dear Sir,

"You will not wonder if the account which has reached me this morning, of Monday's debate, has engaged not a little of my attention. I know how little newspapers can be trusted for the exactness of their reports; and I therefore do not allow their statement to make its full impression, but wait for more correct information. But if the substance of what passed is any thing like what is represented, I should not deal honestly if I did not take the first moment to own to you that I think I have much to wonder at and to complain of, and that what is due to my own character will not suffer me to leave the matter without further explanation. I hope I have never been captious, and I am sure I can

never suffer my public opinions to be influenced by personal feelings; but there may be attacks under which, from the mode of their being received rather than of their being made, it may be impossible to acquiesce. I heartily wish I may find this impression mistaken; but feeling it as I do, I have thought that to state it distinctly is the part of one who has long been, and wishes ever to remain,

"Affectionately yours, W. PITT."

The tone of the above letter, and the precipitation with which it was written, appear, perhaps, to indicate a greater degree of dissatisfaction than was altogether warranted by the facts of the case. Mr. Addington's reply has not been preserved, but there can be no doubt that it was conciliatory. Mr. Steele also, the friend of both parties, sent a statement of the circumstances to Mr. Pitt, upon which the latter made the following remarks in a note to Mr. Addington, dated

"My dear Sir, Walmer Castle, Feb. 12th.

"Much as I wish to find myself mistaken, I am grieved to say that even the opinion expressed in Steele's letter, which I received this morning, cannot, without more explanation, remove my uneasiness on those points which have sunk deepest in my mind. I will not, however, allow myself to say more on so painful a subject till I have had the opportunity of talking over fully the grounds on which my impression rests; and I will at least cherish, till then, the hope that there may be some solution of what at present appears to me inexplicable.

"Affectionately yours, W. P."

In this letter, also, the depth of the impression made upon Mr. Pitt by this circumstance is observable in the little weight he attached to the opinion of Mr. Steele, his chief defender in the debate in question. Fortunately, the feeling was dissipated by

Mr. Pitt's immediate return to his town residence, from whence he communicated to Mr. Addington the result of his personal inquiries in the following note: —

"Park Place, Wednesday, Feb. 17th, 1802.

"My dear Sir,

"Since my return I have conversed with both Steele and Long on the subject of the debate which occasioned my letter from Walmer. Though I still see much to lament in the impression which the report of that debate has, I fear, excited in many quarters, yet I am happy to say that what I have collected from them has relieved my mind from those sensations which were most painful to me; and I am led to believe, that your taking so little notice of the offensive parts of Tierney's speech (which I own at first looked too like an unkindness or indifference to which I had never been accustomed) proceeded either from the difficulty of treating such a subject after you had once spoken in the debate, or from your persuasion that whatever impression he had made had been sufficiently removed by others. I have now, therefore, only to hope, that this unpleasant incident may lead to no public inconvenience, and no further uneasiness to yourself; and I have no wish but to dismiss from my mind every disagreeable reflection which it excited, without troubling you with one word more on the subject; unless you wish any further explanation of the grounds of those feelings which are now removed. I will take my chance of finding you in the course of the morning, or any time that suits you best to-morrow.

"Yours affectionately, W. PITT."

To this satisfactory communication Mr. Addington replied in a tone which clearly showed that his affection for Mr. Pitt had undergone no diminution.

"My dear Sir, Downing Street, February 17th.

"Your letter has greatly relieved me; but it is not possible for me to be quite at ease until I have seen you. If you

would take the trouble of calling here about ten this evening, you would much oblige me; or I will be in Park Place at one o'clock to-morrow, if that should suit you better.

"Affectionately yours, H. A."

Mr. Pitt's rejoinder, offering "to walk or ride with Mr. Addington on the following day, as might suit him best," proves the complete return of ancient feelings. He had now, however, shown that his mind was not wholly inaccessible to unfavourable impressions respecting his friend; and consequently, although the first danger which threatened the good understanding between these statesmen was thus happily averted, the circumstance was strikingly calculated to show how little the continuance of their present intimate union was to be depended on.

On the 10th of February, Mr. Addington had the satisfaction of seeing his valued friend, Mr. Abbot, installed in the seat which he had himself occupied with so much credit. On the 15th he presented to the House a message from the King, representing the inadequacy of the provision for defraying the expenses of his Majesty's household, in consequence of which certain debts had been unavoidably incurred; and on the 17th of the same month he moved that the several accounts relative to the arrears of the civil list should be referred to a select committee. On this occasion, Mr. Manners Sutton, attorney general of the Prince of Wales, put in a claim on the part of his Royal Highness for the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, which had accrued during his minority, and which, instead of being left to accumulate for his Royal Highness's subsequent use, had been applied to the purposes of the civil list. This claim was

supported in parliament by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan; but on a subsequent day Mr. Manners Sutton intimated to the House his Royal Highness's desire, that, from motives of respect to his Majesty, its consideration might be postponed until the more serious concern of the civil list should be settled. The Prince's object in thus submitting his affairs to public discussion is explained in the following extract from a letter addressed (February 3d) by Mr. M. Sutton to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and redounds greatly to his Royal Highness's honour: — "Lord Moira called upon me yesterday, to desire that I would state, in the House of Commons, the claims of the Prince of Wales, not with a view to embarrass government or reflect upon any one, but merely for the purpose of satisfying the public that he has not been a burthen upon the country, and that if the amount of his receipts were set off against his demand on the above account, the balance would be found in his favour."

The report of the select committee appointed to examine into the arrears of the civil list was taken into consideration by parliament on the 29th of March, when Mr. Addington moved that the sum of 990,053*l.* should be granted to his Majesty for the discharge of the same. This proposition was strongly opposed by Mr. Fox, and an amendment was moved by Mr. Tierney; the original motion, however, was finally carried by 226 votes against 51. Two days after this debate Mr. M. Sutton moved for a committee to inquire into the claims of the Prince of Wales; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer waved the question by proposing the order of the day, which was carried,

on a division, by a majority of 57. The remaining proceedings in parliament, until the discussions arose respecting the peace, at the latter part of the session, having been comparatively of slight importance, only a brief notice will here be taken of them.

On the 5th of March government brought in a bill for facilitating commercial intercourse with the United States of America, by the removal of certain prohibitory duties, in the discussion of which Mr. Addington made some observations which deserve to be recorded. Mr. Windham, in his remarks on the bill, having expressed an opinion that we should look for dignity and support rather to our martial spirit than to our commercial prosperity, the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, "that it appeared of late more fashionable than it should be to pronounce commercial pursuits incompatible with high sentiments of honour and national glory, and to assert that a nation could not excel in both. This was a sentiment which in principle was not just, in policy was not eligible, in experience (as applicable at least to this country) was not true. For we had found in the course of the last twelve years a growing commerce, and certainly not a declining spirit of ardour, zeal, and courage in the cause of our country, manifested in all the exertions of our army and our navy. Every branch of the public service repudiated the supposition that a commercial and wealthy country cannot preserve its advantages over other states by uniting military excellence with its superior wealth. This country was happily a splendid instance of both."

During the period which intervened between the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace the country

remained in a state of armed neutrality, and no reduction was made in the forces employed. Such, however, was the laudable anxiety of the Minister to diminish the burthens of the state, that he had only obtained from parliament the means of maintaining the war establishment for a period of sixty-one days from the first of January. On the 3d of March, therefore, he caused further estimates to be presented, extending to the 25th of May; and at the same time proposed to provide temporarily for the current expenditure, by raising a million by way of loan on Exchequer bills. Both these propositions received the sanction of parliament.

The death of Lord Kenyon, the venerated Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, which occurred on the 3d of April, afforded the Prime Minister an opportunity of elevating his Attorney-General, Sir Edward Law, to that high office. This arrangement, though highly satisfactory to the public, was productive of much inconvenience to the government, by depriving them of the services of a most able and energetic debater in that branch of the legislature where his assistance was peculiarly required. The vacant attorney-generalship was consigned to the rising talents of Mr. Spencer Perceval, and the office of Solicitor General, relinquished by him, was conferred on Mr. Manners Sutton, afterwards Lord Manners, between whom and Mr. Addington a friendship now arose which they maintained with mutual constancy until the close of their protracted lives.

The following letter of the Lord Chancellor to the Premier on these changes is curious, as describing

the customary form and manner of filling up the great law offices:—

"My dear Sir,

"The enclosed will demonstrate that I have lost no time in making the desired communications to Sir Edward Law and Mr. Perceval. I shall write to Mr. Sutton to-day. Has any thing passed with reference to the time at which these changes are to take place? The progress of Sir Edward is this:—Resignation of the office of Attorney General; a warrant to issue a writ to call him Sergeant; a writ to issue for that purpose; then a warrant to issue a writ to call him Chief Justice; then a writ to issue for that purpose. Peerage, if to be given, is a subject on which *you* talk with him exclusively."

The letter next follows, in which Sir Edward acknowledged in grateful terms his obligations to Mr. Addington for his high and rapid advancement:—

"My dear Sir, "Bloomsbury Square, April 12th, 1802.

"I have this instant returned from perfecting, at the Lord Chancellor's, the work of your kindness. I am now fully invested with the rights of that great and important office to which your generous confidence and voluntary kindness has raised me. It is now little more than fourteen months since you selected me, a man then little known to you, from the rest of my profession, to be honoured with your confidence in a situation of very important civil and political duty. How agreeable and satisfactory your condescension and encouragement have uniformly rendered the discharge of that duty, I cannot express, and those only who know you can conceive. You have now placed me in a situation, in which I have not a single feeling of interest or ambition ungratified. One wish I have, however, and it is an ardent one, and which will, I trust, never be satiated—the wish of doing credit to your recommendation, and to the gracious favour and goodness of my sovereign, by an active, impartial, conscientious, and fearless administration of civil and criminal justice. This, I think, I can promise: as to the sufficiency with which my duty may

be discharged in other respects, I have more of doubt; but on this subject I allow myself to hope that zeal and industry may not be wholly disappointed.

"I remain, my dear Sir, with the most perfect affection and gratitude, your devoted and obliged friend and servant,

"EDWARD LAW."

The death of Dr. Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells, now afforded Mr. Addington a second opportunity of exercising almost the only truly enjoyable privilege by which the labours of a prime minister are sweetened—that of promoting a meritorious individual to a position of eminence and utility. One of the happiest moments of his life was probably that in which he recommended Dr. Huntingford to the King, as, in his opinion, the party best adapted, by his learning and virtues, to fill the see of Gloucester, vacant by the translation of Dr. Beadon to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. This recommendation was most graciously received by the sovereign, whose acquiescence was expressed in the following terms:—

"I am certain the Doctor will be a valuable acquisition to the Bench, and will not withdraw his attention from that excellent seminary at Winchester, which has produced such valuable men as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the late Bishop of London, Dr. Lowth. Perhaps no situation in the church could have been so well suited for Dr. Huntingford, whilst he holds the office of Warden of Winchester, as the see of Gloucester."

The following passage expresses the feelings with which the good warden received this apparently unexpected intelligence:—

"Winton College, April 15th.

"For the happiness you have conferred on myself, family, and friends, may Heaven bless you! How to express myself

in adequate terms, I know not. In all the warmth and freedom of unrestrained intercourse, I refer you to your own heart. All that you would feel, 'mutatis mutandis,' doubt not that I feel! * * * Again and again accept my unbounded thanks."

The death, at this period, of Bishop Bagot enabled Mr. Addington to reward another old and valued friend, by elevating his own and his sons' instructor, Dr. Goodenough, then a Canon of Windsor, to the Deanery of Rochester, vacated by the translation of Dr. Samuel Horsley to the bishopric of St. Asaph.* Dr. Goodenough in his letter of thanks, dated June the 14th, observes:—

"I wish there was room in my heart for me to love you better than I do, or to thank you more." He then, after referring, as follows, to the rising talents of his patron's eldest son, who had just won the gold medal at Winchester College, alludes to an event, which, as it occurred shortly afterwards, had better be mentioned here. "How you rejoice me about dear Harry. Did I not always prophesy what glory would attend that serenity of mind and that soundness of understanding with which God has blessed him? Excuse me for adding one other word: I understand that Colonel Barré, Clerk of the Pells, is in a very precarious state. I hope you will have fortitude to nominate Harry to be his successor."

Colonel Barré dying on the 2d of July, Mr. Addington *did* nominate his son to the vacant clerkship of the Pells, believed to be worth nearly 3000*l.* a year; and considering his present precarious situation, the advantages of the position he had relinquished

* Mr. Addington had the satisfaction of receiving a very obliging note from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Moore, assuring him that "his clerical appointments gave very general satisfaction, and were much to his honour in the public estimation."

to assume it, the length and importance of his past services, and his own inflexible resolution to accept no compensation for loss of office until final retirement*, none could reasonably disapprove of his resorting to this mode of securing some provision for his family.

* A strong instance of his disinterestedness in this respect was mentioned in the House of Commons February 19th, 1807, by that upright statesman, Lord Lansdowne, then Lord Henry Petty. "The Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster had been offered some years ago," he observed, "to Lord Sidmouth, who had rendered very considerable service during his long and meritorious discharge of his duties as Speaker, but who declined it 'because he would not be the instrument of alienating from the Crown the means of rewarding other and greater public services.'"

Writing to his brother on the subject of the Pells, July 27th, Mr. Addington stated that he had offered the appointment to Mr. Steele, who had refused it; and also had "told Mr. Pitt that he would much gratify the feelings of the public if he would consent to take the office; but I think," he added, "that he acted wisely and becomingly in declining it."

On the 29th of July, Mr. Pitt expressed his approval of the manner in which the clerkship had been finally disposed of in the following terms:—"I rejoice most sincerely that you have found it practicable to dispose of the Pells as you have done. Under all the circumstances it is infinitely preferable to any other use you could make of it."

APPENDIX

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

[On the envelope within which this paper was enclosed are the following words in the handwriting of the King himself: — "The Lord Chancellor's reflections on the proposal from Ireland of emancipating the Roman Catholics, received December 13th, 1800." Underneath the King's writing Mr. Addington has added, "From the King; given to me in February, 1801."]

The very able paper* on the question of admitting Catholics to a full participation of all the privileges of subjects, sets out with candidly stating that there are objections in principle and in policy to this measure. First, that it is repugnant to the settlement of the constitution in church and state at the eras of the Reformation, the Revolution, and the limitation of the crown in the Protestant line. Secondly, that such a measure is dangerous in policy, as it might alarm and disgust the most attached friends of the Establishment, while it afforded but an imperfect satisfaction to the Catholics, whose bigoted attachment to their own religion, and jealousy of the Protestants, would still maintain them in a separate interest and a state of struggle. The conclusion of the discussion, however, overrules these two objections, chiefly on

* This "very able paper" was obviously the "paper of Lord C——," alluded to by Lord Loughborough, in pp. 506. 512., and it appears to have been submitted to the King's consideration, and by his Majesty referred to his Lord Chancellor for his opinion thereon. Probably also it was the document from which the Chancellor has quoted, in his own paper (pp. 505. 507.); but whether he meant by "Lord C——," Lord Castlereagh, who, as Secretary for Ireland at the time of the Union, was necessarily much mixed up with this question, must remain a matter of conjecture only. It is stated in Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. iv. p. 20., that the perusal of this document induced the Duke of Portland to alter his opinion on the Catholic question.

the ground of the *necessity* of satisfying the Catholics in Ireland, who form so great a part of its population, in order to place that country in a state of quiet, and to secure to the empire the full benefit of the Union. I postpone, for the present, the discussion of the general question, and shall confine the investigation to the effects which may reasonably be expected to follow in Ireland, from such a change at this time, and as a consequence of the Union. One preliminary observation, however, must not be overlooked, that the measure now proposed implies a strong reflection on the measure adopted in 1793, when the privileges now proposed to be conceded were expressly withheld as being the safeguard of the Protestant religion; and a censure upon the measure of 1795, when, upon bringing only into discussion a proposition to this effect, the Irish administration was changed. It will be argued that by an earlier concession the rebellion might either have been prevented, or rendered less general; and if it is alleged, that the Union has changed the state of the case, it will be urged, not without some plausible appearance, that if such a consequence of union was foreseen, it ought to have been submitted for discussion amongst the terms of an union in each parliament, and not evaded by an article which, it will be contended, affects to maintain those laws now to be repealed. At the epoch of the Union, the Catholics were in the enjoyment of a most ample toleration; by recent concession they were placed upon an equal footing with other subjects in every respect, except that of sitting in parliament and holding certain offices of the executive government, to the number of about thirty-two. A mere capacity to sit in parliament and to hold the reserved offices is all that remains to be conceded in order to place Catholics on a perfect equality with Protestants. Of what importance is the attainment of an object so totally out of the view, or even the comprehension, of the vast majority of Catholics, that they should be satisfied, if on any occasion they are disposed to be discontented, or if there are amongst them any persons who have the means of exciting their discontent? Can it be supposed, that of the very small number who could be gratified by such a concession, there would not be some who would feel a very

impatient desire to *possess the right* which they have acquired *a capacity to enjoy*. The immediate consequence would be the setting up a Catholic party in every place where it could possibly be formed, which would be aided in each place by the united influence of the whole body; for it must not be forgot that the Catholics have a more absolute and more extensive power of acting as one body than men of any other religious persuasion. Conducted as such contests would be in Ireland, the peace of the country would be considerably endangered, and without doubt a greater animosity would be raised between Protestants and Catholics. Supposing that the actual state of the property to which the right of voting is attached was found to be so entirely favourable to the Protestant interest as to defeat the hopes of the Catholics, would not they be equally dissatisfied with an *actual* exclusion, disclaim the idea of their being *virtually* represented, and revive again the demand for a reform of the elective franchise in a more favourable proportion to numbers? Some new term might easily be invented which would again express the relation between *Catholic emancipation* and *parliamentary reform*, no very unnatural conjunction. In regard to offices, it must be admitted that the Crown would have the right and also the power to confine the appointment to Protestants, but a determined principle of exclusion must necessarily produce a determined principle of opposition, and an incessant endeavour to make some breach upon that system of exclusion. The Crown would be exposed to a very dangerous and degrading species of importunity, the ground of each denial being evident, and yet not to be avowed without encountering the discontent, not of the individual refused only, but of the body of the Catholics. There is a recent example of this after the concession of 1793. The first Catholic who applied for admission to the freedom of Dublin was refused by the corporation; and though there were strong personal objections to the man, his rejection was resented by the general body of the Catholics, who were taught to believe that the *legal incapacity* was only removed, in order to maintain, with more security, the *actual exclusion*.

It is not an improbable supposition that his Majesty would very soon be urged, by the united influence of all the

Catholics in his dominions, to confer some office on a person of that persuasion, as a demonstration that they were no longer considered as unfit to share his favour; the refusal would fix their opposition, the success would encourage other attempts.

It is also to be considered what description of office in Ireland would be most likely to excite their ambition, and to be brought within their reach.

The bar is now open to the Catholics: men of eminence will no doubt arise amongst them, to whose promotion to the bench there may be no objection but their religion. The titles to property generally in Ireland, and, in some degree, in Great Britain, depend upon laws repugnant to the conscience and feelings of a sincere Papist. In a very recent publication by a Catholic writer, the general administration of justice in Ireland has been arraigned as partial and oppressive to the Papists. An admission to the judicature might be claimed as an inherent right in the majority of the people who pay for the support of it; and it would not be surprising if, under such representations, the Catholics in Ireland, like the Huguenots formerly in France, should insist for a proportion of the judicature to be composed of men of their persuasion, under the pretence of providing for the more impartial administration of justice. Irish Papists boast of their numbers, and, after every deduction, it must be confessed they possess the greatest *numerical* force. A claim on that account to share the executive offices of the country, if it is once admitted, can have no bounds set to it. The Papists possess also a church establishment, in all its ranks and degrees, zealous for conversion, and capable of concentrating all their designs. The quiet deportment of Catholics in countries where they are a smaller part of the people, and their clergy are little more than missionaries, affords no example applicable to the state of Ireland. Occasions must speedily and frequently occur in which the clergy and laity will be eager to prove their new-acquired influence; and they arise naturally out of the practices of their religion, which is, from principle, more ostentatious than that of any other sect of Christians. Their ceremonies, the habits of the

clergy, their expositions of religious rites, are all acts of obligation, not easily checked but by that caution which a sense of their political inferiority imposes. Let their political equality be once admitted, it cannot be supposed that they should long refrain from those external demonstrations of their religion which, in their conception, are acts of duty, and from thence tumults might be expected to arise, which, from small beginnings, would disturb the quiet of the state. If these observations have any force, the measure would instantly open a new source of election contests, awaken an ardent and insatiable desire for public stations, erect at once a formidable popish interest, and afford the means of exciting popular tumults. I have confined my consideration very much to the *immediate* effects of the measure. What may, at some more distant period, be the consequence of leaving the Protestants and the Papists of Ireland in their present state, I feel to be a question of more difficulty undoubtedly; but with a general distrust of political speculations for future events, I should rather incline to avoid the present evil, than attempt to provide for that which may not arrive. The present evil of Papist disaffection in Ireland arises (if I am capable of judging on the subject) from the misery and abject condition of the many, who pass under the description of Papists, without industry or occupation. If their condition shall be mended, and their habits, of course, become more civilised, their creed will be a small obstacle to their becoming peaceable subjects. This object will be gradually promoted by the Union, and it would probably be rather retarded than advanced by any accession of authority and power to their religion, and, of course, to the influence of their clergy. I am extremely unwilling to suppose that there is but one alternative for government — either to admit the Papists to a full participation of all rights, or to reduce them to their former state of subjection. The policy of former times was much too severe, and on that account unfit to be continued; but the medium which at present obtains leans so favourably to the side of the Catholics, that I cannot despair of its being maintainable for as long a period as political foresight can presume to compass. The foregoing

observations have been confined to the effect which the measure proposed might be expected to produce upon the *Irish Catholics;* but it is necessary to consider farther what effect this measure would have upon the *Irish Protestants;* in what manner the Established Church of England and Ireland united would be affected by it; and, lastly, whether government could be sure that the measure, if attempted, would be carried.

It is supposed, upon much better authority than I can quote, "that the pretensions of the Catholics would be supported by a great and growing proportion of Irish Protestants," including, I presume, the Dissenters. I doubt whether it be fair to throw their weight into the scale, all of them (except the Presbyterians) being enemies to every establishment, their enmity to the Church may possibly be mistaken for a support of the Catholic pretensions which would not long continue; and the Presbyterians, the most connected body of Dissenters, would probably withdraw the appearance of their support before the conclusion of the measure, influenced as they would be by the certain opposition of the Church of Scotland. The Church of Ireland does not appear to have yet taken any active part in the question: some considerable Protestants, and it should seem with no small confidence in the prevalence of their opinion, have manifested their antipathy to the measure. But whatever may be the disposition of Irish Protestants in the present juncture, the subject can no longer be treated as concerning Ireland only, and the disposition of the Protestants in Britain must be taken into the account. By the Act of Union the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, are to be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church. The question for consideration is, in what manner that establishment which the Papists term the religion of the state would be affected by a repeal of the laws which now exclude them from parliament and from office. The great sects into which the Christian world became distributed at the era of the Reformation were divided in their principles of government as well as in some articles of religion. The Church of England formed itself into a political body, congenial with the constitution of

the state, hostile to that of Rome, and not favourable to that of Geneva, against each of which it has had many conflicts to sustain. The security of the church, as a constituent member of the state, rests on the laws referred to by Lord C——, that imposing the Oath of Supremacy, the Test Act, and the Act of Settlement. These are the safeguards of the Protestant episcopal religion, which the government, in all its departments, is bound to support and maintain. The frame of the law, and every part of our civil policy, is adapted to this object. The Test Act alone has been the subject of some cavil amongst Protestants. It would be well, however, for those objectors to consider whether, without such a guard, the kingdom would not either have relapsed into popery, or fallen into a chaos of independency, irreligion, and anarchy. To all these acts every Papist must object, not only as inconvenient and hard, but as a violation of what he deems just and legal rights; the effects of a pernicious heresy which he regards as a national calamity. Can a person holding these sentiments, rendering habitually an account of the movements of his mind, and submitting the direction of his conscience, to a priest whose functions oblige him to enforce such opinions, be a fit member of the deliberative or executive councils of a Protestant community? In countries where the three communions are admitted to the most ample toleration, the executive offices of the state are generally confined to one, or, if the Catholic party has been admitted, it has invariably produced an exclusion of the others, for it is not formed to be contented with a parity, and it has afterwards abridged or annulled the toleration of the others. This has been the case in several of the imperial cities, and in Poland it has been the chief cause of the destruction of that unfortunate kingdom. The exclusion of Papists from parliament and office was coëval with the Reformation: the oath of supremacy which every subject might be required to take was a bar to every conscientious Papist; but as the disability attached only on *the refusal* to take the oath, there was room left for favour and dispensation, under which a number of Papists were screened from the operation of the law. The experienced danger of their influence produced the Test Act,

which, after an arduous and painful struggle, has proved, in conjunction with the Act of Settlement, an effectual security for the Protestant establishment. The necessity, at least, if not the policy of this exclusion, for the times in which it took place and was enforced, seems to be admitted; but it is supposed that a change of circumstances has arisen which renders that exclusion no longer necessary for the security of the constitution, all particular provisions being only the means to attain that public good, which is *the end* and sole immutable principle of our constitution. This reasoning, it must be observed, is equally applicable to parliamentary reform, or to any other alteration of a settled constitution; but let it be examined what circumstances have so far changed as to induce the change of policy proposed.

1. There is now no danger to be apprehended from a "popish pretender to the throne. The severe laws, in the times of King William and Queen Anne, were passed in order to break down that interest which might have been exerted in his support." All these laws have been repealed, and the change has fully corresponded to the alteration of circumstances; but the laws now in question existed on principle, and in most of their provisions long before the danger of a contested title to the Crown.

2. The Papal power, it is said, has lost that dominion it possessed; "the Catholic church is in a state of depression which makes it no longer an object of jealousy and dread to Protestants, who ought rather to unite their efforts with it in the cause of religion, to stop the progress of jacobinism, which is the danger of the present time." The power of the Romish church is not founded on its dominion, and has often been most strongly exerted and felt, when to outward appearance that church had been in a state of great depression. Has it ceased to claim a direction of the minds of men in the most important concerns of life? Has it professed more than mere submission to any civil authority? Has the doctrine of the Pope's supremacy been in any degree qualified and rendered more consistent with the authority of the state? A full answer to all these questions may be found in the pastoral letters, issued in the crisis of the late rebellion, by

two popish bishops in Ireland*, neither of them probably intending to foment the rebellion; but wishing to manage the interests, to promulgate and to support the doctrine of their church, in the various changes which might ensue upon the disorders then prevalent. Unlike in their manner, in the matter they perfectly agree: the one, hot and intemperate, cannot refrain from a furious invective against that Protestant government which has placed him in the direction of a college founded and endowed for the benefit of his church; the other, calm and discreet, abstains from offensive reflections, and covers with some address the tenets which his colleague more openly professes; both inculcate to their people the principles of obedience, *not to the state*, but to the church, which they alike represent to be self-governed, totally independent of any form of civil rule; and somewhat unseasonably observe, that the Catholic religion is suitable to any form of government, and can adapt itself to the most democratic republic. Such principles cannot coalesce with those of the British constitution, nor shall we find amongst those who profess them sure allies against jacobinism. Why may not Rome unite itself with republican France as cordially at least as it ever did with the Gallican church? Popery has no attachment to a monarchical government, and in Ireland has as often been employed to subvert as to sup-

* Of the "two popish bishops" here mentioned, there can be little doubt that the one characterised as "hot and intemperate" was Dr. Thomas Hussey, the first President of Maynooth College, from which situation he was removed in consequence of his pastoral letter. The letter itself is given at length in the appendix to the third volume of "Plowden's Historical Review of the State of Ireland," p. 284. In the same appendix, p. 252., Plowden gives "a pastoral letter," dated January, 1797, of Dr. Francis Morghan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, who possibly may have been the other "bishop" here alluded to; or the Chancellor may have meant Dr. Troy, titular Archbishop of Dublin, who is mentioned by Sir R. Musgrave in his "Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland," p. 122., as having published a pastoral letter in 1793, in which he endeavoured to show that popery was favourable to a republican government.

port it. The invariable principle of the Romish church in its lowest as well as its highest condition, has been that which the two bishops avow, *its independence upon the civil authority;* it disdains to be what they both call *the religion of the state.* Indifferent to any form of government farther than as it may best preserve its now separate authority under one or another, its practice and precepts at the most extend not farther than to recommend *submission* without *reverence* or *affection* to the *powers that be.* Submission has a full right to protection, but it has no claim to confidence. The duty which the doctrine of the Church of England inculcates, as the measure of the people's allegiance, is of an higher order; admitting no partition of the sovereignty, it adds all the force of religion to the obligation of law in support of the civil authority. The assertion of the King's supremacy is the bond which unites the church with the state in a monarchical constitution. This is the political principle which has excluded Papists from the legislature, and the superior officers of the state from the era of the Reformation, and which it has been found necessary for the public safety at different periods, when by management it had been relaxed, to strengthen and confirm. The last confirmation of it was by the Act of Settlement, which applied the principle of exclusion to the executive power when it chose to abdicate a part of its sovereignty by departing from the Protestant Church. A mere *submission* to that act inspires no active or sincere loyalty, and there is surely no slight difference between the attachment of a subject convinced of its justice and rectitude, and that of one who must in his heart condemn it. It may be asked why is the royal family, in all its branches, to be excluded from uniting itself, even by marriage, with popery, if no Papist is excluded from any public function? The constitution as it now stands is consistent with itself in all its parts. The executive power, in the person of the sovereign, in the delegation of his authority to the servants he intrusts, is essentially Protestant; so are the legislative councils. The Papists have no interest certainly in preserving the integrity of that constitution, and are therefore unfit to be intrusted with a share in the government of it. It is argued that, after

so many relaxations of restrictive laws against Papists, unattended with any danger, it is of no use to retain any. This observation may lead with some to a reflection, whether the laws have not perhaps been already relaxed too largely, and it does not fall under the *third consideration proposed*, whether the government could be sure that the measure would be carried. There are many appearances which make it reasonable to suppose that, on the first proposition of so great a change, there would arise a great alarm for the security of the Protestant establishment. Many persons of much respectability and influence *now* think that some danger has already attended the charitable consideration manifested for the sufferings of the most meritorious part of the Catholic Church — the French clergy. Few indiscretions, indeed, can justly be imputed to them; but it is certain that other Catholics have of late assumed a higher tone, and have been less reserved in exposing their animosity against the Church of England. A spirit of controversy has already arisen, and would break forth with great violence, inflamed as it would be by the arts of all other parties who are disaffected to the constitution on whatever ground. The universities and the clergy in general are not likely to remain in a state perfectly passive; and it cannot be expected that the Church of Scotland (where it has not yet been found prudent to repeal the penal laws in the same extent as in England) should be inactive in opposition to the measure; and a specious argument against it would be raised upon the Articles of the Union with Scotland, which are popularly considered as a new barrier against popery. Even the union with Ireland might lose its popularity, in this country, if so great a change in the system of government were supposed to be the first fruits of it. Under all these circumstances, it seems as if the safest course to be pursued, and by which all irritation would most speedily cease, would be to avow and declare that *a Protestant government cannot recommend to a Protestant parliament the repeal of all the laws to which both owe their being and their security*, and that the Catholics must be contented with the enjoyment of a greater share of confidence as well as protection than they possess in any country where they are not the governing

party. The state of the Catholic clergy in Ireland is quite a distinct consideration; it ought to have been taken up when the laws were repealed which proscribed the exercise of their functions: at that period it was unfortunately neglected, but it cannot be too soon resumed. That the clergy of a tolerated sect of religion should feel a certain dependence upon government is a wise and liberal policy; the mode of creating that dependence is a subject of some delicacy. It must not be such as to impair their influence over their people nor lessen their respect, and therefore cannot be entirely precarious. The government is stated to have already entered into some engagements on this subject, and they ought to be fairly fulfilled. When the determination to admit no further encroachments on the Protestant establishment is firmly taken, the Catholic clergy will not be found unwilling to receive a decent support. The other dissenters are allowed to be desirous of it. The ideas suggested upon this subject are generally very just. I have only to remark, that upon a communication about three years ago with a person very well informed of the actual state of the Catholic clergy, and sincerely attached to their interests, I had conceived that, in sound policy, the sum required would be less than half that proposed. I understand that, amongst the Catholics, a payment for almost all the offices of religion is a strict duty; small as these payments must be in a poor country, they are necessary to connect the clergy with the people; and the priest should not be made totally indifferent to this revenue. Those of the higher order (as I was informed) may have in their present state from 200*l.* to 400*l.* per annum, very few indeed have the largest sum: a very great proportion of the inferior orders do not receive more than a very mean subsistence, so that to such men 10*l.* per annum of certain additional income would be as much as would suit their situation. To all their income is precarious and fluctuating; they ought not to be placed above the occasion of attending to the care of that sort of revenue which now belongs to their stations, but they should not be left to rely entirely upon it. The general idea, I recollect, was, that a certain allowance which, including their present revenues,

might make up 400*l.*, should be fixed as a maximum; suppose, for instance, 200*l.* to each prelate, and half that sum to vicars general; that in each diocese there might be a few parish priests, with allowances from 20*l.* to 50*l.*, and many receiving sums even lower than 10*l.* These men, in their several degrees, to be recommended by such of their superiors as possessed the confidence of government. This, I remember, was the outline, the detail could only be arranged from an exact local knowledge. The amount of the whole, as I recollect, could not exceed from four to five and twenty thousand pounds, and the number of persons, I think, was taken as high as it is stated in Lord C——'s paper. To those who have observed the low condition of the inferior clergy in Catholic countries, where the church is most wealthy, this sort of distribution will not seem too scanty; and it is not proposed from a narrow spirit of economy, but with a view to the efficacy of the measure, which will be better received if it is sparing at first, and leaves an hope of its being gradually extended. The same observation will apply to the dissenters, with this additional remark, that amongst them it is of the utmost importance to establish some gradation. I doubt much the expediency of authorising their annual meetings by any commission from the Crown; but I think it should be a constant object of attention to distinguish, by some favour to themselves or their friends, those who in such meetings support the interest of government, which would soon form a party capable at least of preventing mischief, or, possibly, of deriving good from their assemblies.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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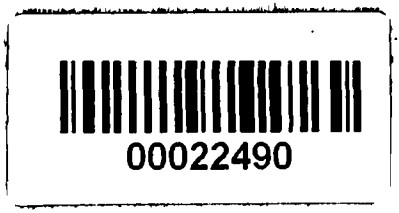
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